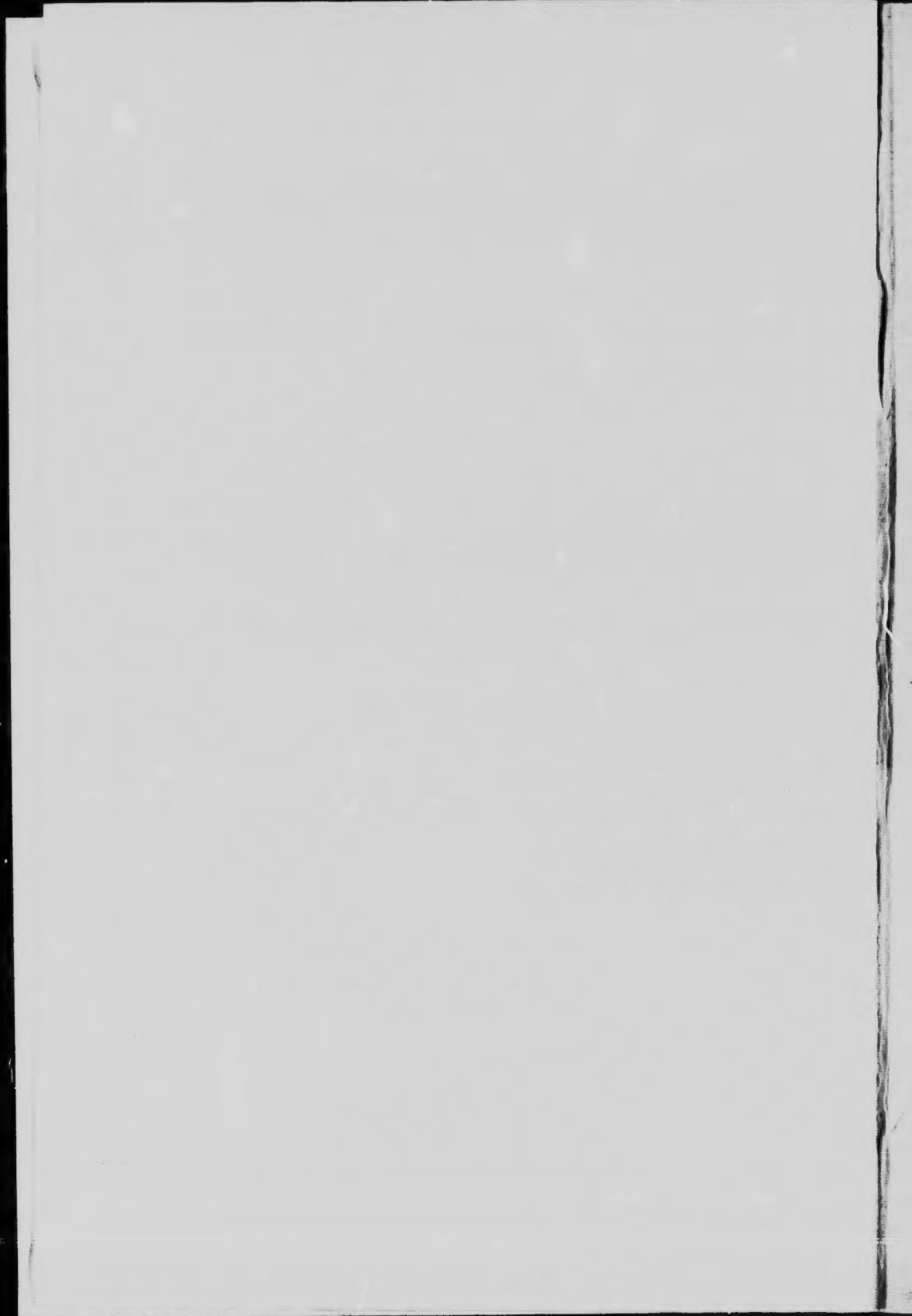


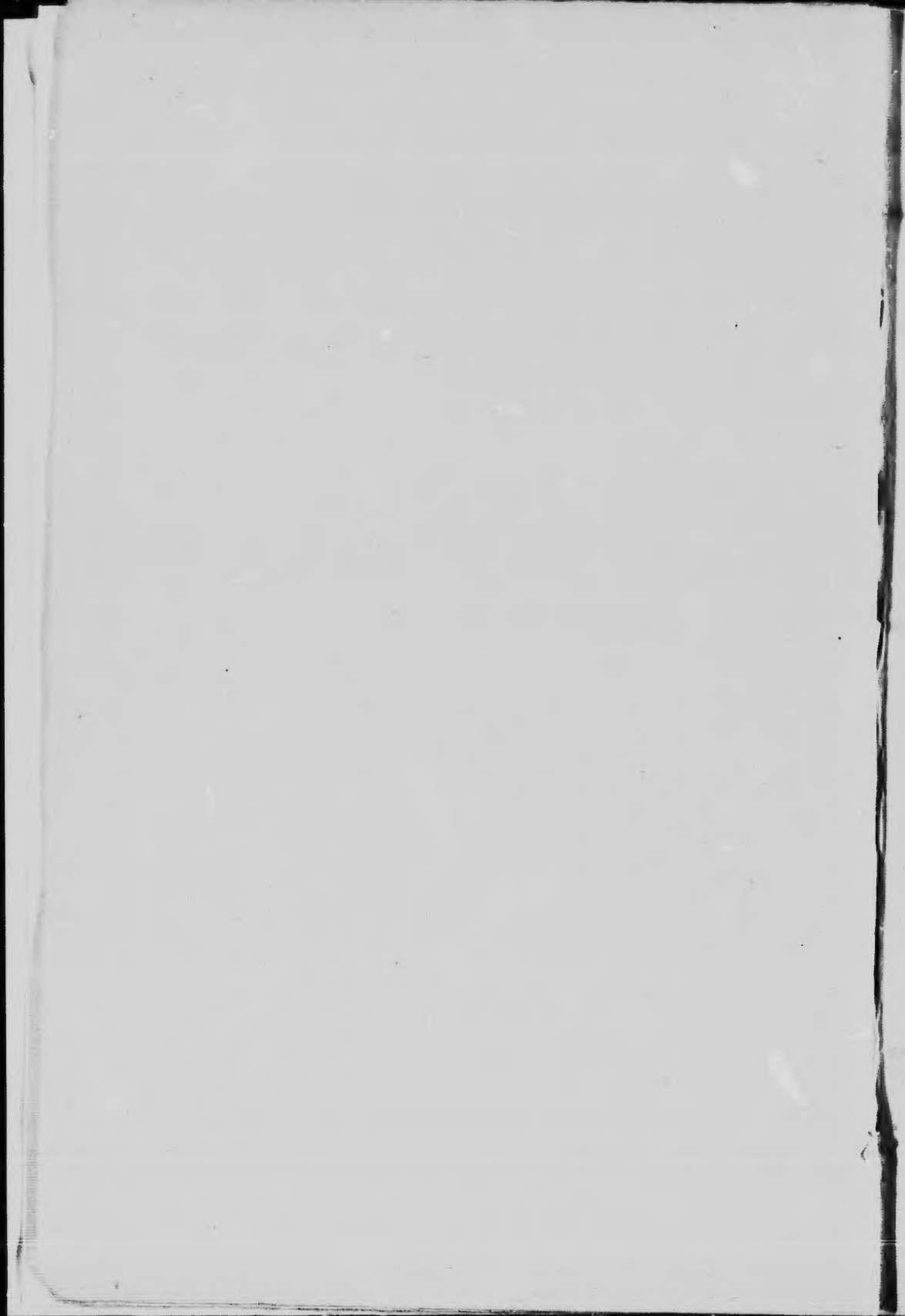


IRELAND

By
KATHERINE HUGHES



Tá ré·a3· breacá3 lae.



IRELAND

By

BERINE HUGHES

Studied Ireland by the author of
"Father Lacombe, "The Black Voyag-
eur," "Archbishop O'Brien, Man and
Churchman."

CANADIAN FREEMAN
Kingston, 1917

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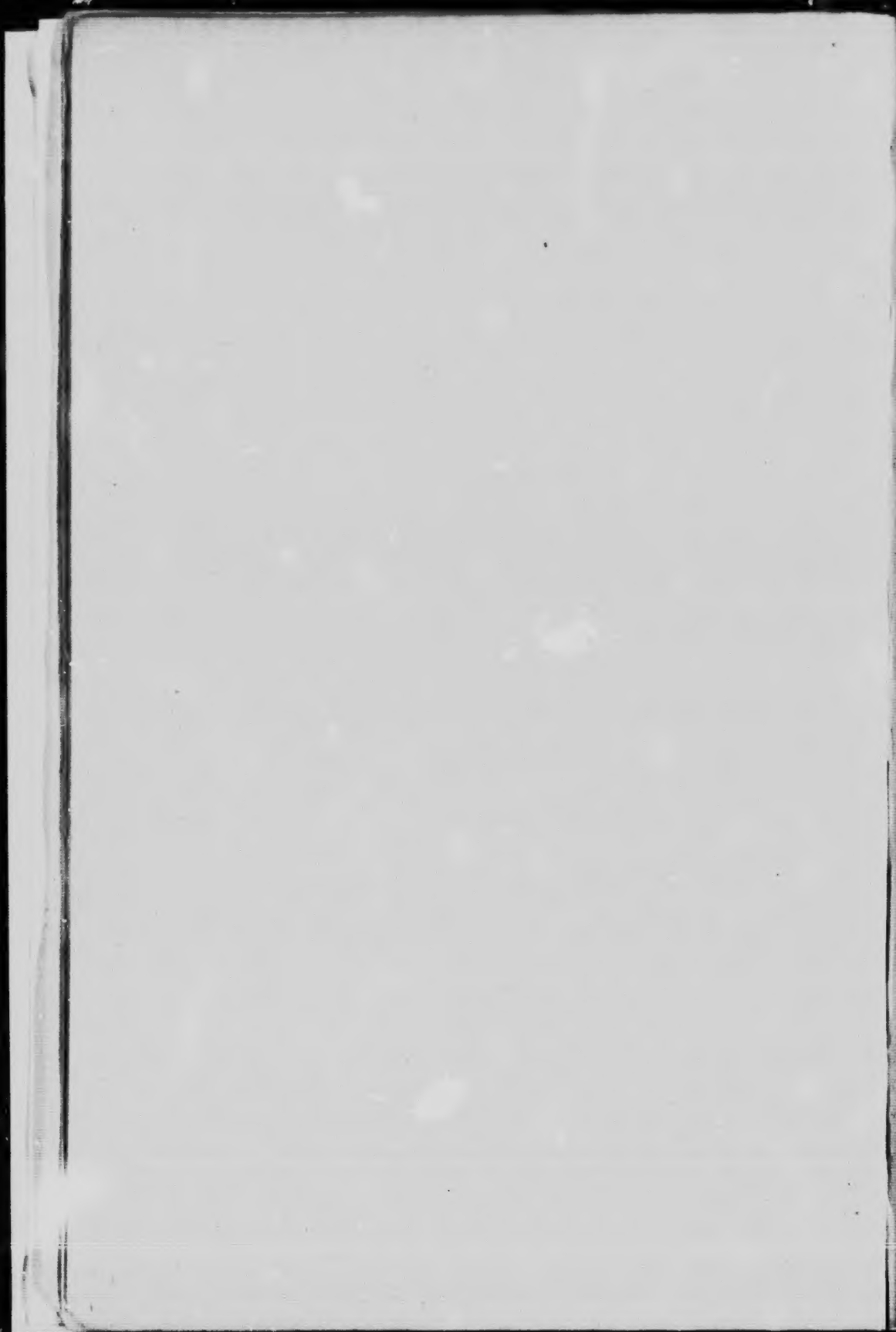
In May, 1914, on the eve of the Great War, I was talking to one of England's leaders of thought—old, great in body and heart and sage of mind.

In the swallow's-flight of topics caught as we sat by his study fire were—Napoleon, the bloodless revolution then in progress in England, industrialism, the later civilizations of Europe and, inevitably—Ireland and the Irish-Ireland revival.

".....So now," I said, joyously, "I believe the old civilization of Ireland is coming back."

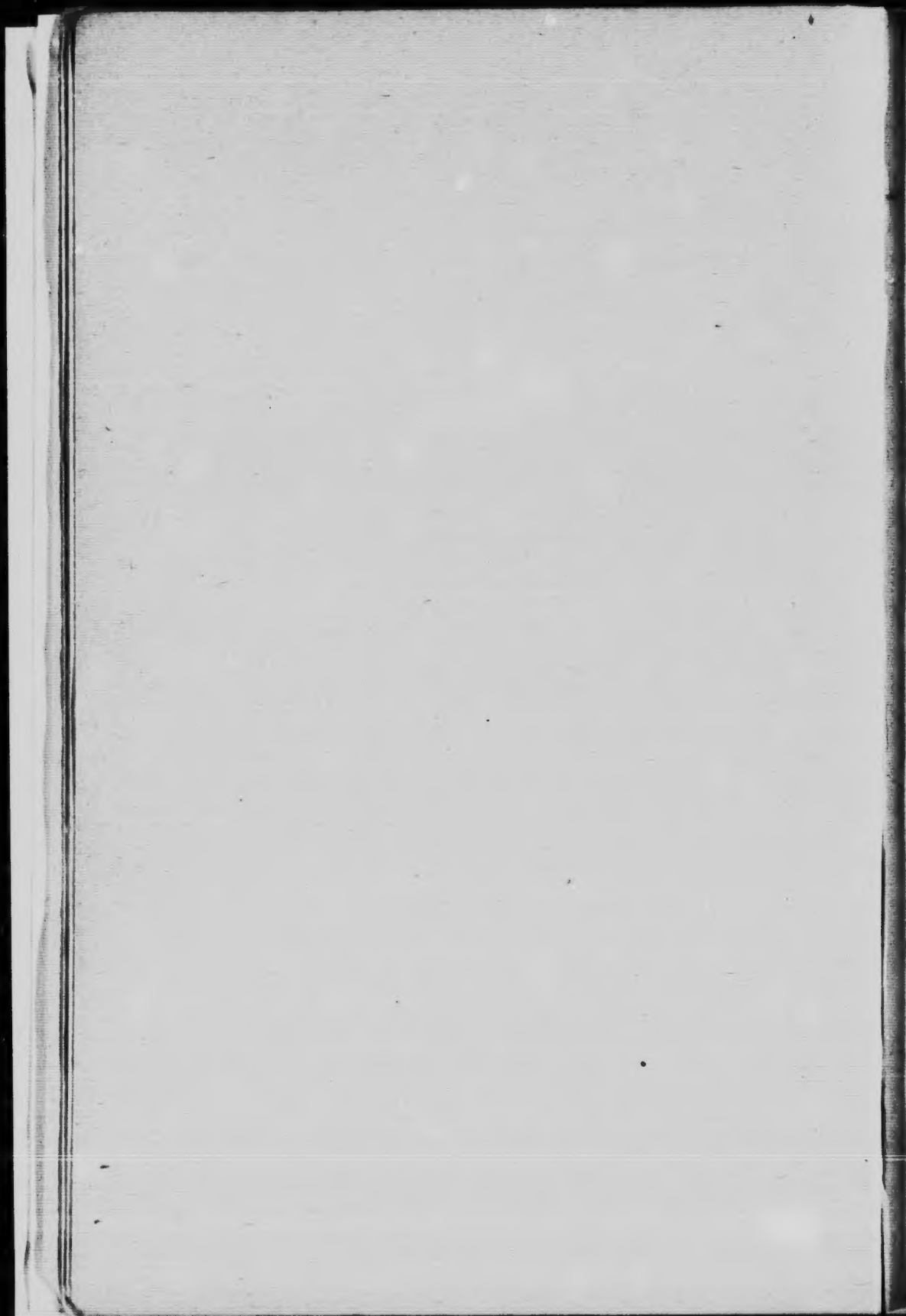
"It is—coming back," Chesterton replied with deliberation. "coming back—for the salvation of Western Europe."

—Katherine Hughes.



These studies of the conditions and outlook of Ireland were made during actual visits to Ireland, while the writer was abroad as Assistant to the Agent-General for Alberta in London, and all profits from its publication will be applied to the Fund for the purchase of the Hermitage (St. Enda's School founded by Padraic Pearse), which is now being collected by the Irish Nation.

The cover design of this book is by Aoife nie Aoda, of the Irish Decorative Art Association, Belfast. The Irish inscription means—"The Day is Breaking"



IRELAND

"Why argue the Irish question over here?..... Why—if people must argue it—do they always revert to the unhappy memories of the penal days, which are forever past?..... Why is there so much protest in Ireland against the Union?..... Just what harm did the Union do anyway, that it is such a red rag to the Irish Nationalist?..... And how can they grumble with such 'excellent' land laws?

"Why is the North of Ireland prosperous and the South, outside a few of the richer farming districts, poor?..... Isn't it because the Northerners of Scotch and English blood are industrious, while the Southern Irish are lazy and shiftless?..... Why is there so much talk about quarrels between the Catholic and Protestant Irish? The two creeds do not fight in England or Germany—why are they at odds in Ireland?..... Why are the Irish people so aggressively emphatic about their nationality?..... And what is this new Sinn Fein party anyway?"

* * * *

The historical facts which make the truthful answers to these challenging questions have invariably been suppressed in English histories. They are in themselves a challenge to the spirit of Canadian fair-play. It is in that spirit I present them to my Canadian countrymen.

The Irish question must be discussed throughout the British Empire, as freely as it is in other parts of the world until the truth of it is known not alone to men of Irish blood but to all men. I know as a certainty that the majority of Irish-Canadians, however well versed some of them may be in old Irish history, lived until Easter 1916 in a fool's paradise of illusions about existing conditions in our Motherland. I also did before my visits to Ireland and systematic study of its economic, social and political conditions.

Going there from the democratic atmosphere and fine independence of Western Canada, and from a life of daily association with men busy on the problems of its development, I was frankly shocked at the conditions I found in Ireland in 1914. They are worse to-day. Western Canadians would not submit to them for three weeks, nor until they are altered would any intelligent Irishman from abroad—however much he loved Ireland—go and live there, unless he was financially independent of Dublin Castle's official flunkies and the alien minority that dominate Ireland socially, financially and industrially.

It was not an Irishman, but Sydney Brooks an English publicist who wrote* in 1907:

"...."To-day, as always, it is an appalling spectacle that Ireland presents to the world. Many countries have had as bad an historical development, as tortuous, as mournful, as blood-soaked and convulsive; but none has had a worse. With none have fate and nature and human perversity dealt more harshly than with Ireland. In none is it so indispensable that an ever-present consciousness of what has been should be the starting-point of any effort to elucidate what is. The Turks in Macedonia, the Germans in Poland, the Austrians in Southern Italy, even the Americans in their dealings with the Red Indians, have scarcely failed more wretchedly than we, the champion colonisers and rulers of the earth, have failed in Ireland; and in every department of Irish life you find at this moment the accumulated heritage of seven and a half centuries' stupidity and wrongdoing.

"And the failure still continues unbroken. What indictment of British rule could be more damning than that preferred by the emigration figures? In sixty years the population of Ireland has fallen by all but 4,000,000, and the drain goes on unceasingly..... They go to America with anger and resentment in their hearts, there to join in building up our greatest industrial rival, and to embitter Anglo-American relations to a degree that British statesmanship is even yet far from realizing..... You have also to consider the indirect toll they (the emigrants) levy on the mental and physical vitality of those who stay; and what that toll amounts to the lunacy inspectors, the health statistics and the poor law figures show but too plainly..... Nearly 12,000 people died in 1905 in Ireland from tuberculous disease—a rate per thousand almost double the figure for England and Wales; and one Irishman out of every forty-four is in receipt of rate aid. By every test by which we can dia-

* From a series of articles in *The Daily Mail* and *Morning Post* published in *The New Ireland*, by Sydney Brooks: Maunsell and Co. Dublin, 1907.

gnose the well-being of a nation Ireland would seem to be in a rapid decline.

"One by one we deliberately strangled her incipient industries....."

But more of Brooks' testimony again! The Canadian, who swallows London cables whole and who blandly dismisses the Irish question with a reference to an eternally-discontented people and wonderful new land-laws evolved by English benevolence, might please note that Brooks' authoritative studies were made during a lengthy stay in Ireland four years after the Wyndham Land Act! Yet this according to English politicians introduced the Millenium into Ireland!

What I shall set out here of modern Ireland, and the years immediately leading up to the Present are bald historical facts, well-known to the scholars of every country in Continental Europe. They are however known to very few in Great Britain or North America or any other country where the public education is based on text-books written in the English language. They are facts which can not be disputed by a Lansdowne or Cecil, a Long or Carson or Selborne. They call like bugles to the spirit of New World * fair-play.

Why Discuss Irish Affairs

We must argue Irish affairs in North America—

Because every man with decent fibres of manhood is concerned now over the fate of all small nations governed by aliens:

Because, even more urgently than other people, close to 20,000,000 of Irish blood in the Americas are compelled by all their natural instincts to demand fair play for their Motherland:

Because—with Canada alone sacrificing yearly tens of thousands of her finest young men and about \$1,000,000,000 already at a call to defend small nations—every Canadian must now be impressed with the surpassing importance of Nationhood:

Because the whole world is learning again the potency of Nationality in the Creator's scheme of life on this Universe—because men realize at last there can be

* The difference between this and a certain widely-advertised variety of Fair-play in the Old World is like the distinction Carlyle drew between good-breeding and high-breeding. The first (like New World fair-play) teaches man a fine regard for the rights of others: the second instills in him a supreme regard for his own rights!

no permanent harmony in Federal or International relations until the rights of individual nations are recognized. No human being knows this better than the Irishman—only the Ukrainian, Serb, Finn or Pole may know it as well—for during 750 years Irishmen have continuously struggled at Home for their national rights in contest with a stronger power. They have died, from Belgrade to Chili, on every battlefield of the world where a nation struggled for Freedom. Irishmen have never had a chance to forget the lesson that Belgium has taught the world again—that a nation will sacrifice all else to preserve its soul and maintain to its Nationhood.

Because as the world from a chalice of blood drinks in again the doctrine that Right must be Might, in order that governments shall rule, as Lincoln defined, only by the consent of the governed—then it is clear to others than the Irish that English statesmen never had any but an assumed right to control and distort the destinies of the Gaelic Nation inhabiting Eire (Ireland):

Because no Englishman who ever breathed—steel-mailed baron, earl or shopkeeper, Privy Councillor or navvy, had or has the moral right to say how Ireland should be governed, a right that pertains to the humblest Irishman on the soil of Eire. Nor has any Englishman to-day as much right to govern Ireland as even the Canadian or American of Irish blood, for these at least are of the family of the Gael, and while in Irish policy and choice of leaders they must perennially submit their judgment to that of the majority of their race in the Motherland, they have assuredly the right to rebuke the stranger in their Mother's house.

* * * * *

We will now "argue the Irish question over here"—for the same reason that the whole world argues today the cause of Poland, Armenia, Ukraina, Belgium or Finland, and every other small nation that happens to lie in grasping distance of a stronger neighbor. As the speeches of English statesmen with reference to national rights have since 1914 practically put out of court all the old "reasons"—an English writer last summer gave this as the final excuse for English interference in Ireland's affairs and the old seizure of that Kingdom:

.. "Ireland lies across the vitals of England."

Is that not also true of England's position to Ireland? Does she not verily lie across the vitals of our Motherland?..... And we can add in all truth that for seven and a half centuries England has been slowly disembowelling her.

If, as this English writer in the *Daily Mail* claimed, Ireland's position gives England a right to control Irish sea-ports to perfect her own (England's) defence—then by the same immoral reasoning Ireland would have a right to grab England's seaports and control them to perfect the defence of her land and people. So too would Germany have a right to seize Belgian and Dutch seaports—Austria to recover her old hold on Italian ports. But such reasoning is not compatible with New World political ethics; it is subversive of all International Law.

II

IRISH PARLIAMENT SUSPENDED

"Why is there so much protest against the Union? Was it not established for the protection of Ireland? Are the Irish not a turbulent, restless people who cannot be trusted to govern themselves yet—a people who have continuously and ungratefully protested against England's endeavor to evolve for them a suitable government?"

The ideas set out in this question are honestly held and sometimes expressed by people even on this Continent. They are the most widely spread portions of the officially-devised Apologia made by England to civilized Europe to justify her actions in Ireland. In the average person with the average education based on English literature and history which suggest these things this idea of saving a turbulent race from themselves is not surprising, but it is none the less absurdly grotesque.

In these days of awakened world consciousness to the rights of all nations the whole world should echo the protest that Irishmen have never ceased to make against the Act of Union of 1800. By it the Irish and English parliaments were first united; then gradually the two Exchequers were united. Under this Union Ireland has not only been saddled with a debt that was not rightfully hers, but she has been overtaxed by an

amount exceeding \$1,500,000,000, her industries outside of the Ulster colony have been strangled and her country deplorably depopulated.

This Act of Union was obtained by the most open and shameless bribery of the Anglo-Irish and English members of the *Irish House of Parliament. This was not even a representative parliament, for the great majority of the Irish people were Catholic and all Catholics were excluded from it. It was not naturally to any appreciable degree made up of the Gaelic Irish, but was mainly composed of the Anglo-Irish and English residents of Ireland—placemen and landlords cast up on the Irish shores in the aftermath of Cromwell's progress of blood. Of its 300 members 116 were "placemen," obliged to vote as their patrons or the Crown willed. Of the remainder only 28 members were elected—by the franchise of a handful of Protestant owners of property.

Mr. Grey (later Lord Grey and ancestor of Canada's ex-Governor General) replying to Pitt in the Union debate at Westminster made an honorable protest against the enactment of this Bill:

"There are 300 members in all, and 120 of these strenuously opposed the measure..... One hundred and sixty-two voted in favor of the Union—of these 116 were placemen; some of them were English generals on the staff without one foot of ground in Ireland and completely dependent upon the Government..... Let us reflect upon the arts which have been used since the last session of the Irish Parliament to pack a majority in the House of Commons..... Other arts were had recourse to, which I cannot name in this place."

Some of the arts were bribes with money (for not all were like Parnell's grandfather in indignantly spurning the bribe), false promises and new titles—so that Irish society broke out into such a plague of new Barons and Knights that the holders of ancestral Irish ti-

*Speech of Lord Plunkett against the Act of Union:—

"Sir, I in the most express terms, deny the competency of Parliament to do this Act. I warn you, do not dare to lay your hands on the Constitution. I tell you that if, circumstanced as you are, you pass this act, it will be a nullity, and no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it..... You are appointed to make laws, and not legislatures..... You are appointed to exercise the functions of legislators, not to transfer legislative rights to the French Council of five hundred? Are you competent to transfer them to the British Parliament? I answer, No. When you transfer you abdicate, and the great original trust reverts to the people from whom it issued. Yourselves you may extinguish; but Parliament you cannot extinguish. It is enthroned in the hearts of the people...."

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ties were indignant. One of the Irish Archbishops, with more heart than head or political finesse was even won to an expression of approval of the Union, by the promise that the remaining penal laws and penalties against Catholics would be removed. He received a fitting reward for his unpatriotic conduct and lack of shrewdness, for the promise was not kept and the penal laws remained until O'Connell came and compelled their Repeal.

The Irish people never accepted the Act of Union. At the first hint of it in 1759 they rioted in Dublin, threw one Member into the Liffey and threatened to drown the others unless they declared against the Union. This prevented the passage of a Union Act in that generation. Protestant and Catholic Irish rose in open revolt in 1798 to avert it. They were given added provocation to revolt, for a country at war can be subdued by force. (General Abercromby, who was then—on his return from America—commander of the English forces in Ireland stated officially that previous to his arrival, "Every cruelty and crime that could be committed by Cossacks or Calmucks had been committed in Ireland by the Army and with the sanction of those in high office"....! Unfortunately there was no Bryce Commission appointed at this time to make a Report on these acts, though indeed many of them are unprintable.)

Emmett and his followers rebelled in 1803 to throw off the Union. Protestant and Catholic residents of Dublin started a series of riots in 1810 to protest against it. On every one of these occasions the voice of the people was smothered in death penalties. Instead of obtaining Repeal of the Union, Ireland was presently thrown into a serious financial servitude.

England's Debt—Shared

In 1816 by vote of the English Parliament the Exchequers of the two countries were united, their public debts were pooled and Ireland, who had obtained nothing from the Napoleonic wars—not even the bodies of her dead sons commandeered for the war by press-gangs—was now compelled to share the huge debt incurred by England in a war that made her the leading nation of the world. From being in 1815 a solvent though not a rich nation and lightly-taxed, Ireland, with a relatively small taxable capacity became one of

the most heavily taxed countries in the world. England—triumphant, aggrandized though exhausted at Home by her prolonged wars—was in 1815 living on her credit. By stretching the powers granted her by the corrupt Act of Union she now made of Ireland an economic slave to help her work off the debts incurred by herself.

In the first 17 years of this Union, which we are asked to believe was made for the protection of Ireland, her debt was augmented by its working £13½ (\$67½) per head. In the same period England's was lessened by £27½ (\$137½) per head.

In 1800 the Irish debt was £5½ per head.

In 1800 the English debt was £46 per head.

In 1817 the Irish debt was increased to £18½ per head.

In 1817 the English debt was lowered to £18½ per head.

This juggling with the Exchequers was manifestly wrong. It would still be unfair even if honestly administered, but as conceded by the Report of the Financial Relations Commission appointed by Gladstone in 1894 Ireland was in those 77 years of united exchequers dishonestly overtaxed by £200,000,000—and was even then (and has continued to be) overtaxed by about £3,000,000 yearly.

This debt to Ireland, acknowledged by an English Commission, remains unpaid. The Commission concluded its report after Gladstone had lost his power. When it recommended that the British Government relieve Ireland of this unfair taxation for the future the Chief Secretary replied that the Irish people could themselves reduce their taxation by consuming less tea, spirits and tobacco. As it were: "I owe you \$1000? Ah—er—yes, my good fellow; but eat less and save your \$1000! Eh, what?"

It was an ex-Governor-General of Canada, and a descendant of that Grey who questioned the legality of the Union, who according to the English press stated recently that before the war Ireland made no contribution to the Imperial Services and the outlay on her local services exceeded her revenue by £1,222,500. Canadian editorials have enlarged upon this last amount to make it £2,000,000. Arthur Griffiths, the most brilliant of Irish journalists who is also a keen and well-informed critic of England's administration

of Ireland's finances, proved from current English statistics before the war that the Treasury concedes that Ireland paid about two per cent of the Imperial expenditure in 1908, and that was an average for other years. This is according to the Treasury book-keeping in Whitehall. The Financial Relations Commission in their thorough enquiry into Irish finances discovered that Ireland was paying nine per cent of the Imperial expenditure, and no change had been authorized by the British Government after that Report.

Of Lord Grey's claim that England was spending £1,222,500 upon Irish local services in excess of the Irish revenue Griffiths' keen probe makes short work. In the year he made the investigation this widely-advertised item of English liberality, proclaimed even in Ireland as a "free grant" to aid her agriculture, amounted to £1,061,000. By adding up the Excise licenses collected in Ireland and deposited in the British Exchequer (£215,323) with the estate and probate duties collected in Ireland and similarly deposited without returns (£689,854) he finds from these two items alone £905,177 of Irish money absorbed quietly into the British Treasury, and then with some other minor monies returned to Ireland as a "free grant"—a gift.

Canadian Cabinet ministers have quoted this "free grant for agriculture" to me as a proof of England's most liberal treatment of Ireland. It is almost a pity to spoil so beautiful an argument and a philanthropic pose so fine. But facts are facts, and must take precedence.

(The truth is this "generous gift to the little debtor nation, Ireland" is about as truthful a statement as another, made as vaguely and repeated parrotwise by prominent Canadians, that Ireland's land laws are now so admirable that the Irish continue to grumble only because they enjoy grumbling!) John Mitchell in his History of Ireland writes what is practically an Apologia for those who blunder in reading Irish finances on the surface:

"England beats all mankind in book-keeping and double-entry, and as she has had the keeping of the books as well as everything else, it has been very difficult even to approximate to the truth!"

Leaving details of annual finances aside these facts remain outstanding and incontrovertible: After 110

years of this supposedly beneficent assumption of rule over the "turbulent Irish", Ireland had grown poorer—England vastly richer. Ireland owed $3\frac{1}{2}$ times more than in 1800—England owed 2.5 less than in 1800. Ireland's taxation had increased $4\frac{1}{2}$ times as much per capita in that period—England's was less per capita. England in 1910 was possibly the richest nation in the world per capita—Ireland, whose rule she had assumed, whose trade and Exchequer she had controlled, was the jibe of her rich neighbor as a shiftless, improvident, inferior race. Her industries of every description (but the baleful one of distilling) in Irish Ireland were struggling. She had been bled white of her young manhood by emigration enforced by poverty, and with the young and the fit emigrating one out of every 44 who stayed was in 1906 receiving poor-rate aid!

Summary of The Union

For those who will persist in saying Ireland has been "leniently treated" by the British Government in the last century, and has much to be thankful for, I have prepared a table of Union Facts which might also be truthfully called a Table of Criminal Sequence:

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| 1800 | Act of Union..... passed notwithstanding the Act of Renunciation of 1783, unrepealed and unrepealable, by which the English Parliament conceded the claims of the Irish people to be governed only by "His Majesty and the Parliament of that Kingdom." |
| 1803 | Unhappy conditions provoking the Rebellion under Robert Emmett. |
| 1804 | The Irish debt arbitrarily increased by the new authorities from £18,000,000 in 1800 to £43,000,000 in 1804. |
| 1816 | Pooling of England's immense debt with Ireland's light one—and no benefits given Ireland in return for the enforced burden. |
| 1835 | Under this new beneficent rule from Westminster a Parliamentary Commission reported that there were in Ireland 2,380,000 persons always in danger of perishing by hunger. |
| 1831 to
1854 | Over 800,000 emigrants compelled by poverty to go to America and seek a livelihood. |

- 1833 Introduction of an Anglicised system of education devised to eliminate all Irish sentiment in the new generations of Ireland. Children were obliged daily to thank God for being born a "happy English child." Irish history and the Irish language were prohibited, and children set up as dunces wearing a wooden yoke if they used one word of their mother tongue in school.
- 1846 The Repeal of the Corn Laws to benefit the English masses worked destruction on the land so unfairly and unhappily yoked to England. Ireland's grain exports were ruined, and her alien landlords unable to command as high a price as before for their grain began to substitute grazing. The era of "cleared farms" and "A nation perishing of political economy." Hundreds of thousands of Irish tenants were evicted to make way for herds of cattle. A Vagrancy Act was introduced to punish vagrancy (homeless evicted tenants who were now a large proportion of the Irish population). Starvation set in—and the English Poor Law, a hated and humiliating system to a proud people, was now introduced.
- 1847-48 The terrible famine years, when "Ireland was one huge charnel-house;" where Irish people (not the alien minority) starved—although out of the abundant harvests of 1846-47 her landlords shipped to England enough grain to feed Ireland. In 1847, the total value of farm produce in Ireland was, according to Government Commission's Report, £44,958,120. Yet 500,000 Irish died that year of hunger, and as many more were shipped overseas. In 1845-46-47 over £85,000,000 worth of farm produce was shipped to England, and it is an established Irish tradition that soldiers with bayonets drove back the starving people from these ships of grain in their ports. Relief measures being taken by America, Australia and Turkey the English authorities were

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moved to much talk and various plans, but these never resolved into properly efficacious activities, though they did occasion well-paid officials. Local charity in Ireland was a drop in the bucket. To increase the horror the potato crop, which alone was allowed to the Irish peasant as food, failed in two seasons. The grain continued to be shipped out of the country by the landlords.

1847-49 In these years hundreds of thousands of Irish died of famine and fever and other hundreds of thousands were shipped from home to the United States as fit company for rebellious Colonials. Numerous refugees fled to England to end their days as despised "low Irish" in the slums of England's manufacturing centres—but to sow there the seeds of Gaelic democracy which were to bear fruit in a future political organization under Michael Davitt, making of these people a blessing to the country that had cursed them. The Irish emigrants to the States were so woefully poor and fever stricken that the port authorities finally protested against any more entering and the ships were turned north to Canada. Of these most unhappy exiles of our people 15,000 were buried in one large grave at Grosse Isle in the St. Lawrence near Quebec, 6,000 were buried at Point St. Charles, Montreal, and over 2,000 at Kingston.

1848 The Young Ireland leaders, maddened to open revolt, rose to save their exhausted Motherland and race, but were readily overcome by the superior forces of English soldiery and police. John Mitchell and O'Brien were exiled to Australia. Charles Gavan Duffy was freed to be later exiled to Australia (where he became Premier), D'Arcy MacGee to Canada (where he became a Father of Confederation). Thomas Francis Meagher to the United States (where he became a General) and many others, who transplanted

overseas the Irish Republican Brotherhood that had existed since Wolfe Tone's day.

**The
fifties** In the fifties Ireland, bled by emigration, weakened by hunger and fever was a pitiable convalescent, slowly stirring to life again.

**The
Sixties
and
1867** In this decade the continued extension of grazing lands, eviction,*rack-rents, poverty and coercion and the suppression of the "Tenant League," with social indignities so common as to pass almost without open protest, at last stirred the more spirited of the young men who had not emigrated. They rose in another revolt. John Boyle O'Reilly and other leaders, condemned to death, were finally sent to the penal colony in Australia to end their days in the horrors of Australian prisons, (O'Reilly escaped to America, and at the unveiling of the Statue of Liberty was selected as the poet of the occasion.

Transportations and imprisonment in Irish Jails with floggings that bespattered the jailyard walls with blood (A. H. Sullivan's "Story of Ireland") were some of the punishments meted out to these spirited young men of whom Boyle O'Reilly was a type.

The "Murder of the "Manchester Martyrs. (Irish Fenian Leaders) took place in 1867.

**The
Seventies
1870
and
1879** In the dull tense quiet that has always followed Ireland's periodic attempts to free herself the early seventies passed. Then came the bad crops of '77-'78 and '79, followed by distress, extension of grazing and numberless evictions. 1870 saw the passage of a painfully meagre Land Bill,

*This was not a new evil to the Irish people. Rack-renting by the Cromwellian landlords of an earlier date was described by Dean Swift in a letter written (April 28th, 1726) to Sir Robert Walpole: "The gentry are destitute of all means to make provision for their younger sons in the church, the law, the revenue or in the army (all the good posts being given to men born in England). In the desperate condition of trade here, it is equally vain to think of making them merchants. All they have left is to rack their tenants, which they have done to such a degree that not one farmer in a hundred can afford shoes or stockings to his children, or to eat flesh twice in a year."

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announced as a panacea for Ireland's woes, as 1869 had brought the Disestablishment of the Church of England in Ireland. The passage of these two measures of relief grew (see W. E. Gladstone's reply to Gathorne Hardy in April 1868 at Westminster) out of the effect on the English mind of the Fenian rising of 1867. In 1879 Michael Davitt organized the Land League to resist evictions. In the distressful eighties—marked by evictions in most parts, by local famines and fever in the West, by the heroic struggles and imprisonment of Davitt, Parnell, Dillon, Healy and their colleagues—Ireland again knew scenes of such distress that even the cold, aloof leader Parnell was moved to tears by them.—(Terse cabled reports of these famines and evictions may be still read in the files of the New York and Montreal dailies and many other papers.) They stirred the hearts of men of Irish blood and moved men of every race in the New World. America was roused to active protest, and America was growing so powerful that, as Joseph Chamberlain declared some years later, the good opinion and friendship of America was not only desirable—it was essential for England's future well-being.

Consequently the Criminal Sequence of the Union had a check here.

The Eighties

The Nineties

This decade saw the first effective measures of legislative reform for Ireland. Balfour's Coercion and Salisbury's "Hottentot" treatment had to be discarded as penal laws and invasions were at earlier periods. American and French disgust at Ireland's unhappy condition was being openly expressed; the coercion of the Irish people and suppression of one Land League apparently only prefaced the inception of another. In addition to these driving forces the Financial Relations Commission of Gladstone's regime had

exposed to the world the systematic robbery of Ireland by over-taxation to the extent of £200,000,000. Some gentler means of Anglicising Ireland and at the same time of placating world-opinion had to be devised.

In 1898 the Local Government Act gave the Irish a small measure of local control. In 1896 the earlier and useless Land Acts of 1870 and 1881 were improved upon slightly. In 1899 a Department of Agriculture was formed to aid the Irish farmers, the idea being due largely to Sir Horace Plunkett; and this was followed four years later by Lord Dunraven, Capt. Shawe-Taylor and others convincing the Chief Secretary, Sir George Wyndham, of the need of adapting Parnell's plan for Land Purchase by the tenant. This produced the much-discussed Wyndham Act of 1903..

III

IRELAND'S CONSCRIPTION

As a fitting sequence to the foregoing bald summary of English administration in Ireland in the last century I would recall the desolating conscription of Ireland by the economic conditions imposed on her. This continent is mostly unaware that——

The population of Ireland despite a large natural increase has fallen in 70 years from close to 9,000,000 down to 4,390,219.

That fact requires little comment; it is a more damning arraignment of English rule in Ireland since 1800 than an indictment even by the eloquent O'Connell. Notwithstanding the large families borne by fruitful Irish mothers—poverty, eviction, despair, the necessity to live—all these factors of Ireland's economic conscription took from these mothers their sons, forced the penniless ones into the English Army and the others, who could find transportation, to America.

Even if all Irish history were obliterated but this fact

there would still be enough in it for an intelligent being to guess at the story of alien misgovernment:

In 1845 Ireland had about 5,000,000 cattle and 9,000,000 people. In 1915 Ireland had over 10,000,000 cattle and about 4,000,000 people.

The Act of Union, under which educated Canadians have told me the discontented Irish were very "leniently treated" obviously favored the raising of cattle and as patently checked the raising of Irishmen!

Had Ireland been governed since 1800 as well as the Japanese govern their country her population should now be 30,000,000 or more. Actually it is less than 4,391,000. If Armenia, Poland or Finland could present for the past century statistics as appalling, what would our comments be upon the Turkish, German or Russian Governments? If in 1970 Canada's census gave her not the 40,000,000 or more she should have—not even the 8,000,000 of to-day, but less than 4,000,000 (the majority of whom lived on the brink of poverty), what words could be found to sufficiently condemn her administration?

Yet this supposed condition of Canada in 1970 is Ireland's actual position to-day.

* * * *

"Were the Irish idle in the 19th century, passively enduring this misgovernment?"

They were not. Impaled in their own land by this indescribable sequence of wrongs the Irish out of the very furnace of their own agony forged the two greatest movements of democracy in the 19th century. In each they were, however, only living up to the unsurrendered ideals of their race, religious toleration and ownership of the land by the people.

The first half of the century was marked by Ireland's struggle under the Titan O'Connell for religious freedom throughout the British Empire. The emancipation of the Catholic and of the non-Conformist as well was won by the Irish. The latter part of the century was marked by a struggle as notable. The world that stands in tribute at the Pass of Thermopylae has no finer hero-story than that of the Irish Land War. The nation at the point of death in 1850 rallied, because of its own undying spirit of nationhood, to the inspiring

message of Fintan Lalor* which had been caught up by Mitchell and thundered to the nation by Davitt. This was one of the two greatest cries of humanity in the past century,

"The Land belongs to the People!"

The Irish Land War in all the various leagues that supported it was a 19th Century crusade based on the old Gaelic law of the land, which had belonged to the people not to the noblemen or kings. It was thorough, it was persistent and lofty in aim, yet in detail it is as sombre a story as the Crusades of the Holy Land: the woes of tenants evicted, of the feeble or aged dying by the roadside, of the alien landlord or his agent sometimes *shot, of tenants executed and Parnell and his colleagues in felons' cells. It was a whole people's struggle against oppression and eviction and persistent poverty with weapons of boycotting and resistance and withholding of rents. However valiant its leaders and many in the ranks were this story of a slow war of twenty years reveals a land so desolated and humiliated that only the very strong and the very weak stayed in it.

To this Crusade, holy in aim as those of Palestine, more wide-reaching in its effects, marred in spots as

*Of Lalor the invalid and crippled country gentlemen who died in 1849 as a result of hardships endured in imprisonment Standish O'Grady writes:

"James Fintan Lalor was a man who united a most logical understanding with a force and depth of imaginative revolutionary passion without parallel in his time.....A man who first in modern Europe preached the startling doctrine that land titles not originating in the people's will are invalid; that the nations own the land.....From the brooding brain of the Tipperary recluse, from some fiery seed dropped there by the genius of the age, sprang forth suddenly an idea full-formed, clear.....equipped for war. Something very strange, something terrible as well as beautiful.....Lalor's idea passed into the mind of Mitchel and others. With them it passed into America, propagating itself there in the Irish-American press, and from America it has come back upon Europe....." (From introduction to a rare little book, "The Writings of James Fintan Lalor," Dublin, 1895.)

Were O'Grady writing in 1917 he might have added that Lalor's idea revolutionized 19th century land-ownership in Ireland, leading up to the Land Purchase Act of 1903, inspiring reforms in land laws in India as well as stimulating the land agitation in England and even in Russia, where the allotment of 138,768,000 dessatines to the peasants after 1861 did not fully meet the needs of the people.

*Apropos of this the Rev. Dr. Dawson of Inchicore, recalls that the late Henry George visiting Ireland in 1886 expressed his surprise that people so oppressed had only "occasionally" shot a landlord. Lord Melbourne wrote of a landlord shot in 1827: "I agree with much of Doyle's letter, and I do believe the people are monstrously aggrieved. He mentions C—K. Now if one-half of what is told me of him be true, if he had forty thousand lives there could have been no wonder if they had all been taken." (Life of Dr. Doyle, 269).

the early crusades were by faults of the Crusaders themselves—to this mainly and its effect on American public opinion are due the various Land Acts so grudgingly conceded. By the one really effective Act—that of 1903—the British Government conceded Parnell's scheme of the eighties and agreed to provide £100,000,000, lending this to Irish tenants to buy back their fathers' lands from the landlords. By borrowing a large amount at a very low rate of interest and lending it to the Irish farmer at a higher rate this financial transaction did not even impose a burden upon the English taxpayer—although a cry was promptly raised that Englishmen were being bled to buy land for "those ungrateful Irish." Numerous large estates in Ireland still remain wholly in the hands of English landlords—several of these even larger than the Duke of Devonshire's 60,000 acres.

When Paul Dubois the French publicist was in Ireland securing facts for his book, "Contemporary Ireland," he found that in all of Connaught there are 109,359 holdings in the hands of the people—the major portion of the land was still in grass. Of these holdings 83,290 were non-economic or below \$50 in value. In all the counties of Mayo and Donegal he found that half of the holdings in the hands of the people were each rated at less than \$20 value! Out of 5,488 ratepayers in Westport Union, Co. Mayo, 4,844 were living on uneconomic holdings. Not that there is not plenty of fertile land in Mayo, but because of alien confiscation and government, out of 1,322,132 broad acres of Mayo—only 93,680 acres, or 7 per cent. are available to 36,000 families for cultivation: less than 3 acres for each family and this usually of the poorer land! In Galway conditions are even worse, for there only 5 per cent. of the land is in the people's hands, yet the forbears of these men of Mayo and Galway owned all the land under Gaelic rule.

About $\frac{5}{8}$ of the farming-class of Ireland are now on economic holdings. Some of these compare well with a good Canadian farm—heavily mortgaged however. Others are little more valuable than what the congested Districts Board describes as economic—a holding worth not less than \$50. Irishmen the world over have been invited by English political leaders, by O'Connor and other political writers at Westminster to chant Te Deums for this satisfactory half-measure

of justice to the Irish people. But they do not, nor does any chance transatlantic cable recall the unpleasant fact that $\frac{3}{4}$ of the farming class still occupy uneconomic holdings (200,000 of these in Ireland in 1907)—a bare acre or patch of acres on which goats only could find subsistence. Nor do they dwell on the condition of the rural laborer, or the would-be urban laborer who can find work for only a portion of the year, yet cannot hibernate Bruin-fashion and must support his family for the whole year. Nor are we asked to meditate on those sublime Irish mothers who, even after 1903, continued to regard in stoic or open agony the stream of their sons away from Home to America. These things you have to go to Ireland and see for yourself; and there if you are a live North American you will grow hot at sight of those bereft mothers and the remnants of ruined industries, with the decay of once-great seaports. Then you may muse over what could be done with that \$1,500,000,000 overtaxation when it is refunded!

These are the days of "indemnities!"

Some Irishmen have been ungrateful enough and audacious enough to make calculations which show this \$1,500,000,000 sufficient to build up the Navy which supports England's claim to be "mistress of the Seas!"

IV

IRISH INDUSTRIES

"Why is the North of Ireland prosperous, and the South of Ireland . . .?"

The commercial success of Belfast and its surrounding district has depended little upon any inherent mental superiority or industry of the Belfastman, but much on the exigencies of English statesmanship. It received its first strong impetus at the close of the 18th century in the fears entertained at Dublin Castle because of the growing friendliness between the old Catholic Irish and the Protestant garrison; if this became permanent it would weaken the absolutism of London's sway over Ireland. So—they decided to break it.

Consequently after the Union, while the broken industries of Irish Ireland were carefully left broken, and new ones gently nipped in the bud, every possible en-

couragement was given to Ulster's industries of flax-raising, linen-weaving and ship-building. They have not been built up through centuries by the toil and thrift of the Ulster Scot, as popular opinion holds, and as they will even tell you in Belfast, for Belfast is as neglectful of the history of the Irish race as she is successful in commerce.

Her industries have been built up in 117 years, since the Union. This is a plain truth that cannot be got around. When in 1770 the Ulster Protestants with their Catholic brethren began an agitation for better conditions among the tenantry, they were by no means prosperous in agriculture and had little commerce. Young, the English Protestant traveller touring Ireland toward the close of that century found Belfast a negligible "small town," while Dublin in wealth, culture, and importance was the second city, as queenly Galway once had been, in the widespread realm that now is known as the British Empire. In all Ireland at that time Young found the "discovery laws" of the penal code still in existence, and wrote: "Those laws have crushed all the industry and wrested most of the property from the Catholics."

Put the most active critics of the "lazy" Southern Irish in their place. Take from them all they have—then punish them for creating anything new; keep this up for a few generations—and how much business initiative or energy will be left in the progeny of these brave critics?

That Dublin Castle in its maintenance of English rule in Ireland intended no leniency of attitude to the Irish people is quite apparent throughout the official correspondence previous to the Union. Pitt could receive and approve, as he did, in private many such communications as this from Westmorland, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to Pitt, Jan. 18th, 1792:

"The frame of Irish government is a Protestant garrison, in possession of the land, magistracy and power of the country; holding that property under the tenure of British power and supremacy, and ready at every instant to crush the rising of the conquered."—(Lecky, Ireland, Ch. VI).

In public Pitt exhibited the greatest concern for Ireland, but the Union began with the old policy and the old rulers under a parliamentary guise. The French and American Revolutions had made any role but one

of protecting benevolence impossible, and Pitt in his speeches at Westminster did not overlook this fact, He drew glowing pictures of the advantages to accrue to Ireland from the Union as the most effective means of increasing her commerce and improving her agriculture; the introduction of English capital and the opening up of an avenue to honors and exalted positions in the general seat of Empire!

It reads like a rhapsody for 20th century Colonials by Lionel Curtis or other propagandist of the Round Table.

Notwithstanding this (or perhaps in one of those spasms of Imperial "absent mindedness" that we are told have built up the British Empire), the new powers set about a further subjugation of the race as deliberately as a general plans a military campaign. It was deemed good strategy to win as allies the few hundred thousand Scotch and English settlers in Ulster, and prevent their dangerous fraternizing with the South. As an unmistakable warning the leaders of the Ulster Irish party had like Lord Edward Fitzgerald* been killed off—Wolfe Tone, James Hope, Jackson the Presbyterian minister and many another Ulster Protestant lover of Ireland.

Belfast and The South

With rebellion stamped out in their own experienced fashion the authorities began to direct a current of prosperity toward Belfast. The linen trade and ship building took on a new lease of life. Legislation and patronage encouraged them and nothing was done by the Castle to hamper them. For what happened to the industries of the South and West of Ireland—the portions almost exclusively old Irish in population—honest students of this question should read Mrs. J. R. Green's "The Making of Ireland and its Undoing," or D'Alton's or Mitchell's History of Ireland, or Lord Dufferin's study of Irish industries. More convincing still is a study of this in Ireland, where the echoes or relics of old industries still haunt the soil. They were all killed before the Union, except Agriculture,

*Of Lord Edward, Southern leader of the Rebellion of 1798, Lord Holland, the Whig leader wrote in 1818: "My approbation of Lord Edward Fitzgerald's actions remains unaltered and unshaken. His country was bleeding under one of the hardest tyrannies that our times have known."

and the Union, almost destroying this before 1900, prevented any appreciable resurgence of the old.

Lord Dufferin wrote: "From Queen Elizabeth's reign until a few years before the Union the various *commercial confraternities of Great Britain never for a moment relaxed their relentless grip on the trades of Ireland. One by one our nascent industries were either strangled in their birth or handed over gagged and bound to the jealous custody of the rival interests in England, until at last every fountain of wealth was hermetically sealed and even the traditions of commercial enterprise have perished through desuetude."

A more recent testimony in this regard is that editorial published last March in—*mirabile dictu!*—London's Unionist and reactionary Morning Post:

"Ireland has been sacrificed over and over again to the fiscal policy of Great Britain. If we were to go back to the history of this subject we should have to tell a lamentable story; how in succession the Irish wool industry, the Irish cloth industry and Irish agriculture were killed or mortally injured by the selfish and shortsighted economic policy of England. . . ."

(The writer might have added several other industries—as fishing, glass-making, metalwork, ship building in Irish Ireland and others).

Only the growing distilleries, mainly owned by Protestant and Unionist Irish, were encouraged. This fact is a blot upon English rule under the Union as deep and dark as was the liquor policy of the "Black Hundred," the Russian autocracy that has happily passed. In Ireland the aim of the policy was identical—excise revenues; incidentally it worked in both countries toward the degradation and control of the masses. These distilleries were and are a great evil to Ireland. They have been one of the most deadly influences in Ireland in the past century—tempting into drink, poverty and degradation its underfed, underpaid, economically and politically crushed masses. Of what avail a Father Matthew in each generation against the will of Dublin Castle?

* "Imagine a nation, the two-thirds of whose revenues are spent out of it, and who are not permitted to trade with the other third. This is the state of Ireland. The Kingdom is absolutely undone, as I have been telling often in print these ten years past to as little purpose as if it came from the pulpit." Dean Swift to Sir Robert Walpole, Oct. 31st, 1729, Again writing to Pope on Sept 3rd, 1735, Swift says: "This kingdom is now absolutely starving, by the means of every oppression that can be inflicted on mankind."

Yet this is only the dark reverse (and Irish) side of a policy that was surely enough at the same time building up Belfast's industries. . . . How many orders for ships has the British Admiralty placed in Belfast in the past 50 years alone?

Who can honestly say that not alone the effect but the aim of this policy was to build up a Chinese wall between a prosperous garrison in Ulster and an impoverished Irish Ireland? Ulster was to be kept contented; the troublesome Irish who refused to be made over into English were to be gradually reduced to such a condition that the males would drift into the army or to America, and the remnant would be absorbed.

The entire process and policy has failed of its purpose for the reason that Mr. Augustus Birrell pointed out to the Commission of Investigation after the Rebellion of 1916: they had not taken into calculation, he said, "the soul of the nation of Ireland." And the soul of a Nation does not die.

Ireland's Early Fleets

It is probable that many people in Canada, educated in English and New World history, do not realize that up to the time of the English invasion the Irish fleets and commerce were more widely known and powerful than England's. When King Edward I of England in 1257 wanted to frighten the Welsh from further retaliatory attacks upon his people he could think of nothing more awe-inspiring than to threaten them with the naval strength of the Irish whom he would bring to his aid. (Having already grievously pinched the Irish forces on land London was beginning to claim an over-lordship over its naval forces.)

At this period ships were built at more than seven Irish ports, now fallen into decay, and "fleets of masts," sung by the Bards, were owned by the O'Sullivans, Lynches, O'Driscolls, O'Malleys, O'Briens, O'Flahertys, Maguires, and other Gaelic nobles and princes. As late as the 16th Century, 20,000 foreign fishermen paid customs duties to the O'Sullivan Beara, prince of this ancient southern house, for fishing in the territorial waters of the O'Sullivans; and of Spanish boats alone over 300 paid similar dues to the O'Driscolls of Baltimore. An English political writer of that period abuses these and other Irish nobles as "abominable and unreasonable" for retaining these

dues instead of paying them over to the British monarch. ("The British Monarchie"—1577).

Irish ships in those days sailed the Mediterranean and all the known seas. Their traders penetrated even to Spanish America. For centuries an Aonach or Fair of Irish goods had been held annually at all the principal continental cities near the coast. Irish representatives were attached to the Merchant's Guilds in these cities. Irish silk (srol) fine leather and linen and serges (sayes) were included in the wardrobe of European sovereigns and courtiers. Irish weavers of fine richly-coloured cloths were successful competitors of the Catalanian and Florentine.

But the wealth and enterprise of the Irish merchant marine had been specially coveted by England during this period. A political work published about 1436, and entitled "Libel (little book) of English Policy" first enumerates the great commercial wealth of Ireland which was as yet only partially subdued in the South-eastern regions—then after suggesting that the Irish fleet should be utilised "to assist us in keeping the command of the sea" the writer who is anonymous urges that the money spent in completely reducing all Ireland would speedily be repaid by the commercial advantages accruing to England!

This was in fact the predetermined policy of the English State, and was accomplished eventually, overcoming an opposition that no other country in the world has shown. For it must not be forgotten that the military subjugation of Ireland was achieved only after five centuries of successive invasions and confiscations. But she was not then, nor is to this day, a conquered country.

Under the ruthless carrying out of this policy all the old sea-ports in Irish Ireland save Dublin and Cork have been forced into decay—while \$200,000,000 have been expended on the port of London to fit it for shipping, and \$155,000,000 upon Liverpool and \$100,000,000 on Manchester. Galway, the gallant Queen of Western ports which held out the longest, which was a busy port crowded with masts when Liverpool was a fishing village in the swamps, was before her ruin was encompassed second only to London in the volume of her shipping. Galway sits today in her drab poverty a power dethroned but unbroken in spirit as the humi-

liated general who stood an outcast before his own gates and swore: "I still am Belisarius!"

It is perhaps useful to recall that the English fleet dates its greatness from the 16th Century—and that England destroyed or absorbed the Irish fleets in the 15th and 16th centuries, just as the Spanish and Dutch fleets were in their turn crippled in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. With shipping destroyed in Ireland the next logical step was the destruction of the industries. Lord Dufferin's studies indicate how thoroughly this was done from Elizabeth's day onward. Then when the irrepressible Irish began to contrive industries anew, Sydney Brooks, the English publicist writing in 1907, describes what happened:

"One by one we deliberately strangled her incipient industries. Woollens, glass, cotton, sail-cloth, sugar-refining, shipping, the cattle and provision trade—all went. . . . They (the Irish people) were flung back upon the land—and the land impaled them."

Impaled then with rack-rents, humiliations and evictions; impaled them so mercilessly that even Parnell wept like a woman at the thought of their sufferings.

* * * *

There are to-day few residents of the New World, whether or not of Irish blood, who will agree that the country which did these things to Ireland should control the trade, the taxes, the destinies of Ireland even for another year.

Citizens of every free country in the World, once aware of the truth of Ireland's heroic struggle and unequalled sufferings, must feel the impulse to call to England's Imperial Government in the name of human liberty:

"Hands off Ireland!—her trade, her taxes, her people!"

V

IRISH INSPIRATION

"If people will insist upon arguing the Irish question, why don't they stop dragging in the Past and consider Ireland in this century only? Can't she make a fresh start here?"

That is all she is asking for—a fresh start to mind her own affairs and her own household, but she wants to make it in her own way without foreign dictation.

To do that it is necessary to make her case clear in the stubborn court of the world's opinion. She cannot avoid those references to the Past that English minds find so unpleasant, until that Past has been redeemed.

To properly estimate the Union against which every genuine Irishman protests it is absolutely essential to go back to its inception 117 years ago. References to the more remote past are not essential in any of the overwhelming arguments against Union, but it is a psychological impossibility to get away from that clutch on the Past which distinguishes every one of genuinely Gaelic descent.

If the Irish of the past 300 years had not dreamed of the Past and lived close to it the race would now have no future. They would have been obliterated. V. and was Belgianized—not once, but thrice—by a powerful neighbor there were no rich hospices thrown open to adjacent countries to the Refugees. The starving soul of Ireland was incarnated in its wretched people who found their only haven in remote caves and bleak hillsides. The only soul's warmth they knew was the dear light that glowed out of the centuries from the great shrines of Padraic and Colum, and the kingly fanes of Tara and Aileach and Cashel and the rest.

Was it not to them as food to talk of Tara and its rich banquets—when no want was in all Erin—and its Triennial Parliament, where with the High-King and his four subsidiary monarchs sitting with their Council of Nobles and Brehons and Teachers the general laws of Erin were promulgated amid much ceremony and feasting?

Forbidden to give or receive any education whatever, was there not a wistful pride in the memory of their country's shattered "Louvains," of the great colleges to which the nobles of Western Europe had sent their sons, of that great school where Alfred of England was sent by the Irish princess who was his mother—and returned from Brehon schooling to consolidate the laws of his own country just emerging then from primitive ideas? Was there not some merit in recollections of the great University town of Armagh—the old royal seat of Queen Macha that blossomed again to a Christian centre under Padraic, where the hospitable and scholarly ancestors of these dispossessed refugees on the hills had set aside one whole portion

of their town for the hundreds of Saxon youths who came from England for advanced education, where, as the Venerable Bede gratefully acknowledges, they received "lodging and tuition free."

When any man feels impatience with such an outburst of memory in an Irishman to-day let him remember that man does not outgrow in a decade the ingrained tradition of centuries. For through every century since the 12th these outbursts and protests have been made, and many published since that stern document* of protest sent to Pope John XXII by Domhnaill O'Neill, who was elected High-King of Ireland, in 1258.

* * *

The Irishmen of today urging the restoration of their country's rights cannot if they would forget the past century, because the inexorable laws of nature will not permit it. What is done of good or evil lives on in influences that build or destroy. Man may forgive wrongs done. He cannot efface their effect.

Remedies can and should be applied to heal the broken body of an individual or a nation. But for each, the physician before deciding upon the correct remedy must take the "history" of the case, as this has a most important bearing upon the treatment and outlook. The vast majority of the people on this continent being inaccurately informed or absolutely uninformed concerning Irish history it is quite necessary in discussing the Irish question to go back of today to make it clear to them.

Can a broker discuss intelligently stock exchange

*Domhnaill, High-king of Eire to Pope John XXII:—"Most Holy Father: We transmit to you some exact and candid particulars concerning the State of our nation, and the wrongs we suffer, and which our ancestors suffered from the Kings of England and their agents, and from the English barons born in Ireland.After driving us by violence from our habitations, our fields and our paternal inheritances and compelling us in order to save our lives, to make our abode in the mountains, marshes, woods and caverns of the rocks, they incessantly harass us in these miserable retreats, to expel us from them and appropriate to themselves the whole extent of our country. Hence there has resulted an implacable enmity betwixt them and us. So that as long as we have life we will fight against them, without regret or remorse, in defence of our rights. . . .

"We will not cease to fight against and annoy them until the day when they themselves for want of power, shall have ceased to do us harm, and the Supreme Judge shall have taken just vengeance for their crimes, which we firmly hope will sooner or later come to pass.

"Until then we will make war upon them unto death, to recover our independence which is our national right, being compelled thereto by very necessity, and willing rather to face danger like brave men than to languish under insults."

operations with a trapper who knows nothing of such an institution but its existence?

How to Destroy a Nation?

None but English people or their anti-Irish partisans ask the Irish people to forget their past. The reason is not far to seek; it is a part of the wide propaganda against Irish Nationality.

If the world could be made believe that the Irish and English are but one people of one race with one history then they might be made to interpret the dark pages of Irish history as disciplinary measures exercised upon a rebellious and intractable younger brother. If the Irish people could be made to believe it—the work of Imperial English subjugation and assimilation would be complete.

As the English Prof. Cramb, in his widely-quoted reply to the German General Bernhardt, writes:

"If I were asked how one could describe in a sentence the general aim of British Imperialism during the last two centuries and a half, I should answer in the spirit of Dionysius: To give all men within its bounds an English mind, to give to all who come within its sway the power to look at the things of man's life—at the Past, at the future—from the standpoint of an Englishman."

We have been told by some very great Englishmen since 1914 that the German mind is criminal in that it desires to dominate other peoples, and spread German culture. Voila!

The Irishman is as determined as the Japanese that he will not have an English mind thrust on him: so he cultivates his memory. Ask the Serbian why he did not forget the past in the five centuries he writhed under Turkish rule. Ask the Arabian, the Finn, the Pole, the Ukrainian a similar question. They will tell you that if they had forgotten for a century they would have taken the alien rulers' mind; they would have been absorbed and the race be dead.

In the Irishman's case he really never has been given much temptation to forget. They have only to go back 100 years for the beginning of the polite juggling that cost Ireland over \$1,500,000,000. Men are living to-day who knew as children the horrors of the famine years. Others recall distinctly Lord Salisbury thirty years ago actually urging on Westminister that the

Irish should be treated as Hottentots. There are many men under middle-age in North America to-day, whose most vivid childhood memory was of the shrill cries of the evicted, the oaths of soldiery and the blackened timbers of his own or his neighbour's home. I have met such men in Canada.

Then he requires no effort of mind to recall Easter, 1916—and Maxwell and those young Irish martyrs consumed in quicklime. . . . and August 1916, when Asquith finally betrayed Redmond who had maintained him in power for more than a decade and enabled him to pass the reform legislation badly needed by the English working-classes. (Redmond did this on a pledge that his country should be given a complete measure of Home Rule, and the necromancy of life at Westminster actually made him believe this pledge, so like a host of pledges given to Irishmen before in London).

Then there has been March 1917, and Lloyd George's capitulation to the oligarchial Unionist forces with which he has allied himself, when even the politically drugged and trustful Irish party marched out of the House in disgust. Just today there is a Convention, which the English but liberal-minded Chestertons in their paper "The New Witness," satirize—"The most splendid bull we have perpetrated is this 'National Convention' for the settlement of the Irish problem."

* * * *

The propaganda of denationalization, which has been maintained in Ireland in one form or another continuously since the first laws against the Irish language, the Irish kilts and Irish surnames, has had an unchanging purpose—to end or absorb the nation. The "humane" later methods which include an effort to eliminate Irish history again from Irish schools—as it was until 1900—and the "one race—one tongue—one history" concoction are only the newest phase of a pursuit in which one must at least credit England for a marvellous bull-dog perseverance, and render tribute to Ireland for a matchless and cunningly flexible endurance.

As Arthur Griffiths has it:

"It (Ireland) riots, agitates, appeals, protests, intrigues, lies, flatters, abases itself to withstand English ascendancy. It uses any weapon and every weapon. . . . Its meaner methods may be despised, but there is that behind their use that may not be despised. There is a

tenacity of life and strength of purpose which no other nation has shown; not even the Jews, who though they kept their identity lost their land. The Irish have learned to complain and whimper and even to appeal to their enemies, but they have not learned to admit defeat. Centuries of cruel punishment, because they kicked against the pricks, have taught them a mean wisdom—to dodge the lash and flatter the overseer. But it has not forced them to throw up their hands and cry, "We surrender." In seven hundred years that cry has never been forced from the throat of the Irish people." (The Irish Review, August 1911).

When the successive invasion methods gave way to confiscation and the "planting" of aliens, interlarded with slave-catching in the South-eastern counties for West Indian markets, and this in turn gave way to the method of degradation by depriving the Irish of every means of education—then in caves and mud sheelings, physically overcome, our outcast Irish forbears forged for themselves out of the very fire of their souls a coat-of-mail that baffled the enemy. It was a passionate, almost a Shinto pagan ancestor-worship of men who had been "kings and scholars in their day" and of women unmatched for courage and virtue. Girded in this they **endured**, as has no other race in the history of Man.

Eire go Bràt!

Where is the man with red blood in his veins who would ask us to forego now this subtlest and most stubborn defence of the race? Where is the Irishman who would do it?

It is so the Irishman instinctively resists the imposition upon him of "the English mind," that Cramb extols. And providentially so; you cannot make a man yearn to be one of a nation of barons, shop-keepers, sublimated civil servants and wage-slaves, if his pulse beats to the memory of an ancestral race of scholars, bards, nobles and clansmen equal owners of the land!

The soul of Ireland has been kept alive by those who knew her History, loving her past, and by those who died for the Eire that was and should be. And now in the 20th Century as the Irish have neither become serfs or extinct, they have only an amused rejection for the new methods of the denationalizing programme. They smile as they hear:

"The Irish are not Irish at all. They are not and

never were distinct from the English race. England and Ireland have but one people, one race."

Shades of Thackeray and Queen Victoria and Salisbury who detested the incomprehensible Irish! Other times, other doctrines!

Meanwhile the Irish in Ireland go on poking fun at the new text-books of history written to spread the new idea and ordered for Ireland's elementary schools in 1917. They can almost laugh now too at this earlier propaganda: that the Irish people retain a monstrous medieval bitterness and bigotry in religious affairs, that the Catholic and Protestant Irish can never agree, and that they must be saved from themselves by England's benevolent interposition.

The clear-eyed men and women of the New Ireland know that these "arts" can not prevail much longer, so they can even concede a measure of satirical applause for the Machiavellian diplomacy that "plain John Bull" has always kept hidden under his waistcoat. If his advertising balloons are almost punctured—what matter that one flies over America announcing the existence of a terrible religious bogey in Ireland?—that another on the European horizon continues to tell of a primitive race in Ireland in a state of evolution, being generously guided out of their primitive ways (Salisbury's Hottentots!) and taught to "enjoy the blessings of the British Constitution"?—and that in Ireland itself still another drops strange pellets of doctrine that the Irish people are not Irish at all but British—which in its last analysis means English!

Is rainis é sin!

Are there any in Canada who would seriously ask men of Irish blood to forget the past of their country and race?

Then I would have them know that in these days when the civilized world is destroying itself to rebuild a new Temple of Liberty—new rights for the people, a fairer distribution of property, government by the people, national liberty, democracy and federation—that all of these ideals are veritably part and parcel of the old Gaelic civilization and culture which has been thrown into eclipse since 1200.

A communal holding of the land for all the people by the people, elected rulers, a democratic monarchy, a

federation of provinces in one great nation, a Triennial Parliament that promulgated laws for the entire nation, an ancient and wise code of laws from which Alfred of England copied the system of Trial by Jury, which rejected the idea of capital punishment—these things existed in Ireland centuries before Christ came down to man, and live still in the ruins of Tara and the laws of the Great Book.

Before the tribunal of public opinion and in the light of human history Great Britain has ethically much to answer for in her suppression of a civilization so based on the ideal. Yet submerged as it has been in the long night of Ireland's tragedy some elements of this Gaelic democracy have worked their way up as a leaven through the English blend of Saxon stodginess and Norman dominance and the concrete surface of Roman law on which the laws and civilization of England are based.

In the past century it was the Gael and the Gaelic ideal as embodied in O'Connell that won religious emancipation for all men living under the sway of England. It was the same spirit that burned in Jones and the Irish leaders of the Chartist agitation, which freed the English masses from the domination of the English barons as these had earlier in the Magna Charta wrested their own freedom from the heavy-handed domination of their Kings. Again it was the spirit of this ancient Gaelic democracy which moved Michael Davitt to found the first Labour Journal in England and with his associates consolidate the first puny growths of the British Labour Party. It is the Gael and the Gaelic ideals furnished by Irish and Scotch writers which supply the major part of the idealism that appeared in English Journalism before the war, and is quoted by people abroad as evidence of the democratic instincts and ideals of England.

There works in the Gaelic mind still that instinctive appreciation of others' rights which moved even the armies of the great King Dathy or Conn of the Hundred Battles or Niall in their incursions into Gall before the days of Christ. They frequently conquered—Dathy was a conqueror clear to the Alps,—but the Gaels did not retain alien territory. They had but one colony, when the Northern Gaels colonized the empty western shores of Alba; but even this colony was pronounced at the Great Council of 573 to be entirely free

of its mother-country, and the Scotch Gael was freed from paying further tribute to his brethren in Ireland.

* * *

Finally, the Irish in discussing their relations to England, persist in looking back for much the same reason that Belgium at the Peace Conference will ask the world to weigh all that has happened of recent years. Who in America will venture to suggest that Belgium should forget the losses incurred in the German invasion and while the opposing armies were interlocked in war on her territory? What International Court would agree that Germany might retain this territory under her Imperial sway—if the Reichstag passed a Land Purchase Act, à la Wyndham Act, and the Chancellor summoned a Convention at which the Belgians might evolve a form of self-government under Berlin—premising that he should nominate the delegates to the Convention and that whatever was demanded by the German garrison colony left in Belgium they must have?

There is an obvious parallel here.

VI

THE ULSTER PROBLEM.

"I do not propose to say one harsh word against this North-East corner of Ulster, I was myself cradled in Ulster, brought up in all the prejudices and traditions of Ulster Unionism. If I escaped from the snares of that peculiar cult of sectarian politics I cannot forget that in younger days I held their views and opinions. I will say this for the Ulsterman—that when he takes his place on the side of Ireland as he will one day—when you have attracted the Ulsterman to your side and to the cause of Ireland, you will have behind your country and behind the cause of Ireland an irresistible force making for progress in the nation, and in the individual. (Applause).

"We cannot forget the part that this Ulster played in the years gone by in the National fight. If in later years, through the intrigues of British statesmen these men have been weaned from the national cause, it is not, I am convinced a hopeless task to bring them back to the side of Ireland, to make them stand as their fathers stood, for the defence and maintenance of Irish Nationality. (Applause)."

(From an address by Lindsay Crawford, founder of the Independent Orangemen of Ulster, on St. Patrick's night, 1917, in Massey Hall, Toronto).

A few decades after the Great War students of Irish History will not marvel at the underground forces that

created the Ulster Problem and so stubbornly maintained it more than a century in spite of a rising tide of democratic enlightenment. They will be amazed at the credulity of the Irish nature that made it possible.

The thing in itself is a time-worn political trick. The English invaders were already practising it in Ireland in the thirteenth century; it is not unknown in Canada today—this maxim, "Divide a house against itself—." Only the trusting credulity of the Irish (for even those of North-east Ulster have this quality in their friendships and devotion to leaders) made this horrible thing possible. Its growth in modern times is so well known to informed Irish people that the barest sketch of it will suffice. How well it has done its work of keeping the old and new Irish apart all the world knows—how thoroughly the roots of the intrigue were planted 120 years ago in and around official and aristocratic London was proven recently by the threatened Rebellion of Ulster in 1913-14. It was apparent to every student of world affairs in London at that time; it has even passed into the books of that period. I sketch it here.

Toward the close of the 18th century the overwhelming majority of the Irish people, old and new, Catholic and Protestant were united as one family demanding economic reforms from the English government which controlled Irish trade. Protestant Volunteers in their historic mass meeting at Dungannon demanded the religious emancipation of their Catholic brethren. Together they hung placards on the necks of cannons:—"FREE TRADE OR THIS!" and sang the popular verses of the day:

"Wasn't John Bull a fool,
When he took off our wool,
To leave us so much of the
Leather, the leather?"

It ne'er entered his pate
That a sheep-skin well-beat
Would draw a whole nation
Together, together?"

This Union of the Old Irish and the New threatened the continuance of England's absolute sway over the country: so the intrigue to separate the two began. A

religious scare-crow was erected in the fair fields of Eire.

Regiments of militia of the Northern Protestants were ordered to help quell a rising in the Catholic South—a rising whose leader and inspiration was the Northern Protestant and patriot, Wolfe Tone. Of the atrocities done then in that unhappy south-eastern corner of Ireland, “with the sanction of those in high office” General Abercromby’s damning evidence must be accepted even by Englishmen. After the Rebellion and the Union the Ulster landlord and his Southern and London brethren continued the work of division, for they were men of the same race, the same aims and ambitions.

The religious bogey was kept well to the front! “Wasn’t English rule preferable to Rome Rule any way? Then to hell with the Pope and three cheers for the King of England”—cheers which the Catholic Gael promptly reversed. The trade of the north was encouraged. The Ulster landlord devotedly aided London in building up “the frame of Irish government”, defined by Westmoreland in 1792—* “ a Protestant garrison in possession of the land, the magistracy and power of the country ready at every instant to crush the rising of the conquered.” In 1913-14 their intrigues were simply to establish this “garrison” anew, to prop the alien “frame” more strongly and push the North and South farther apart. In 1916 they were as ready as at any time since 1171 “to crush the rising of the conquered.”

Even the most cursory study of the latest Irish statistics at hand (1911) and compiled under English direction, makes the Ulster problem seem almost ludicrous. Here are a few of the outstanding facts:—

Population of Ireland—

Catholics	3,242,670
Protestants	1,147,549

Total Population 4,390,219

Of Ireland’s total population it is a conservative estimate to say that 85 or 87 per cent are Nationalists and 15 or 13 per cent. are Unionists. The Irish Catholics representing the old Gaelic stock with slight infusions in various localities of Danish, Norman and

*Westmoreland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to Pitt.

English blood which were in turn absorbed into the Gaelic national life) are as a matter of course genuinely Irish and Nationalist.

In addition to these—Irish Methodists, Quakers, Unitarians and Congregationalists whether or not they are of Gaelic descent are most frequently Nationalist. They number over 100,000 persons. Of the 788,183 Episcopalians and Presbyterians in Ireland it is safe to argue another 200,000 are Nationalist. This leaves about 600,000 Unionists—not more than 15 per cent. of the total population and since Easter 1916 so many of the younger Irish Protestants are becoming Sinn Féin that the percentage of Unionists is continually growing less.

At the last General Elections held in Ireland—

Ulster returned 17 Nationalist members and 16 Unionist members.

The sphere of influence of the Ulster Unionists is limited, judging—(1) from the Ulster population figures:

Protestants (Ulster)	890,880
Catholics (Ulster)	690,816

(2) from the fact that the great majority of Protestant Irish in Ulster are gathered into six only of Ulster's counties in this proportion:

Protestants (six counties)	820,367
Catholics (six counties)	430,164

It is for this majority in six counties of 390,203 Protestants (of whom some are even Nationalists) that Premier Lloyd George speaking now for the reactionary Tory element in his government states the Irish people must continue to be coerced. Their one alternative is to consent to cut out of Ireland one small corner and annex it to Westminster. What would happen if President Wilson decided six states in the United States should be allowed to hold up or dictate the future form of American government throughout the Union? The proposition is absurd and inexplicable to outsiders, until they remember that London does not make this decision out of consideration for the Ulster minority. Reactionary London is merely determined as in 1800 that this little group of Protestants shall be maintained *nolens-volens* as a garrison "to help keep the Irish down."

The proposition is tragic in the light of Ireland's long unceasing struggle for liberty, in the story of

Easter, 1916, and in the ardent hopes of 20,000,000 of Irish blood overseas. For in the hearts of each of these is an echo of the ringing call of Patrick Henry, whose Irish blood prompted the cry that was Virginias tocsin to Revolution in 1776: "As for me, give me liberty or give me Death!"

It is only a plain statement of fact that as long as the parent stock of the Irish race is coerced by a foreign government at Home, the millions of Irish blood in Australia and the two Americas are also coerced in a measure. There are few among these so poor in spirit that they do not resent the shackles on their kinsmen.

It is oddly enough the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, rather than the Anglo-Irish Protestant, who protests against co-operation in government with his Catholic fellow-countrymen. The Highland blood in many of these is an identical race-strain with the Irish, and when these men cross the ocean to a freer government they usually become Nationalists. I have met in all the six provinces of Canada that I have visited within a year Ulstermen who have ceased to be Unionists when they "escaped from the snares of that peculiar cult of sectarian politics."

Those in Ulster who are still blindly following their leaders with Gaelic devotion, may in the world-upheavals of the moment suddenly awaken and throw off the shibboleths of "Rome Rule" and "the lazy unenterprising Southerner." Then the leaders will experience as Irish and Scotch leaders have before now that if they betray their people through incapacity they are dropped—quietly, if it is a speedy process; noisily, if there are delays. But if they have deliberately betrayed or duped their people then these will fall on them and rend them to pieces. The Gael's fervour in doing this is only equalled by his unquestioning devotion before the betrayal.

"The Tory Women"

There is an amusing significance in certain passages of Wells' "Mr. Britling" for those who like Wells were in London in 1913-14 and know something of the elaborate workings behind the stage on which that Ulster Rebellion was picturesquely mounted, with cinematograph films recording its progress! There is a series of pictures behind Wells' blandly innocent:—

"Lady Frensham it was manifest was one of that energetic body of aristocratic ladies who were taking up an energetic attitude against Home Rule 'in any shape or form' at that time."

Some day interesting memories will be written of the 1913 conferences at historic English mansions, of the active politicians and their political agents, of coroneted dames and highly-placed Army officials, of rectors and curates and club-women drawn into service, with the Anglo-Irish lawyer-politician Carson and the English lawyer-politician Smith as the high-priests of the Spectacular Revolution—with the plain Ulster farmer and labourer and a fringe of the middle-classes as their dupes.

Meanwhile as Wells' Mr. Britling has it—

".....The rich values that lay in Ireland, the gallantry and the gifts..... all these were being left to the Ulster politicians and the Tory women to spoil!"

When the Home Rule Bill passed the Commons in the autumn of 1914 one of these dear Tory ladies, who wears a coronet on occasions, sat in front of a friend of mine in the Ladies' gallery at Westminster. As John Redmond entered the House this very aristocratic and energetic lady leaned forward and anathematized him in a really unprintable oath. Since the Bill of 1914 with its milk and water provisions, mildewing "on the Statute Book," is now being actively rejected as inadequate by the people of Ireland, one wonders if the energy and intense feeling of this English noblewoman have provided her with stronger language to meet so dire an occasion.

But 1914 has passed—and the North and the South did not fight. Why should they? 1916 has passed, and men of the North with men of the South gave up their lives for their dream of Irish freedom. The North will never again close its eyes upon the silent Forces at work, that encouraged their industries, while the dead hand pressed on those of the South. They will not again, blind to the terrible facts of Ireland's agony, boast childishly of their own powers and taunt their brother Irish with steeping their brains in religious superstition so as to unfit themselves for the economic battle of life. They will throw off now the malign in-

fluence under which they have *fought against the liberties of their own countrymen and of humanity, that it may not again be said of them that they opposed the Gaelic movement for democracy which by the acknowledgement of Green, historian of the English people, laid the foundations of England's democracy in the past century—

"Irishmen had wandered among the English working-classes as missionaries of democratic liberty, had given them models of popular organization, had provided leaders to plan the first 'National Trades Union' and to inspire a Chartist agitation."—the base of English Parliamentary reform.

* * * *

"We're one at heart if you be Ireland's friend,
There are but two great parties in the end."

There are few men in Ireland now who have not an enlivening strain of the Gael in their blood. There is no need for any of them to feel or act as aliens. Yet the non-Gaelic or any other native of Ireland who continues to put the interest of another country before his native land is not genuinely Irish: he is an alien. There can be only one Irish nation, as there is but one English or one French nation.

If a Unionist, as he frequently does, claims to be Irish he must mean that Ireland and its fortunes and dignity comes first with him among all nations as his own family does among families. If it does not then he is not Irish, but an alien living in Ireland, and he has as much right to dictate a form of government for the Irish people as a colony of Hindoes in British Columbia have to govern Canada.

The Unionist who knows no loyalty but what he professes to England is no more Irish than a group of Americans or Japanese in Canada would be—working to annex Canada to their own country and to place its government in a subordinate position to the institutions of their own more powerful fatherland. But the hidebound Unionist is gradually disappearing; he is coming to look for other reasons than religious superstition and laziness to account for the industrial desolation of Irish Ireland.

*Lindsay Crawford, himself an Ulsterman, speaking at Toronto, March, 17th, 1917:—"From the days of O'Connell down at every stage, when Acts of Parliament were being passed and reforms being carried (by the Irish Nationalist vote at Westminster) it was this North-East corner that stood in the gap to impede the march of democratic progress not only in Ireland, but in the British Isles."

The organ of the Southern Unionists—the Irish Times (own cousin to The Times of London)—can not be accused of any possible bias to Irish Nationalism; yet it acknowledged in May of last year that “All over Ireland intelligent Unionists are disgusted with the hopeless stagnation in our industrial life, and have come to realize that England and Ireland are unequally yoked together.”

Abraham Lincoln's doctrine of government of the people by the people for the people has taken so strong a hold upon the more highly educated and thoughtful young people in Irish Unionist homes that their numbers are weekly lending strength to the constitutional Sinn Fein movement. Many of the older Presbyterian and Episcopalian Irish are as warmly Irish in feeling now as the man of Connacht who knows no word of English.

Again as in 1782 the North and the South are coming together, responsive to the great wave of all-Irish feeling that is flooding the Motherland now, and poets of The New Ireland are writing in Gaelic and in English poems of the new Union—the only Union Irishmen should know—

*“What matter that the Boyne ran red?
That North fought South in bitter strife,
What matter that our hearts were bled
By Irish steel?—WE still have life.

The Past is dead—it's story told
All honor shrine each hero's tomb!
The fuller day bursts on the sky,
Gone are the phantoms of the gloom.

The blood is lost in ocean deeps,
The bitter waters now are sweet;
This grassy marge is fitting tryst
Where Irish hearts and hands may meet.

The Past is done, The fight is o'er,
King James and Conquering William—Dust.
Should North and South be sundered still
When Schomberg's sword is red with rust?

*H. J. MacCourt in Dublin “Leader,” July 7th, 1917.

Join hands across the sun-kissed Boyne,
Link hearts, and all as brothers stand;
From East and West and South and North—
Swell high the shout for Motherland!"

VII

IRISH CONDITIONS.

The present conditions of Ireland are not "the most prosperous she has experienced in all her history," as we frequently read in newspapers of the moment. Glowing statements to this effect have been spread by the London press, aided by gentlemen of the Irish Department of Agriculture.

With a naivete that is too apparent to be sincere these gentlemen would have one believe that Ireland has had no other life than the centuries'-old struggle with her leachlike neighbor. If we pass over this absurdity we come to the fact—which they carefully suppress—that Ireland was obliged last year to pay \$50,000,000 more in taxes than she did in 1913. She now pays about \$150,000,000 in taxes annually—although as a country economically drained she was hard pressed four years ago to find something under \$50,000,000 for taxes. To help her meet this burden which is growing every month, what compensations has Ireland received in the same period?

An increase in tillage to some degree and higher prices for farm products have benefitted farmers in Ireland as elsewhere and enabled them to pay off more readily their instalments on the Purchase Money. There has also been a Rebellion, much contumely for things Irish, martial law and numerous small industries closed, marking the collapse of almost heroic efforts by individuals to revive the old industries. A definite statement upon the industrial effects of the war in Ireland was made in London, on March 17th last by Lord Northcliffe, whose papers have led for years sharp attacks on the Irish and their struggle for self-government—a man whom no one could possibly accuse of any bias toward Ireland. He felt constrained to admit, (possibly as a prelude to his American visit and possible relations with Irish-American leaders):

"It seems as though every country among the Allies is to receive some war bonus,—i.e., improved economic conditions and legislation—except Ireland. At this

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moment when English and Scotch industrial centres are 'enjoying the war' Irish salaries and wages are the lowest paid in any English-speaking country. Many Irish workers are receiving less in a week than some English workers are at the present time making in a day..

"I do not know..... to whose neglect it is due that of the £40,000,000 (\$200,000,000) being spent weekly on the war but little goes to Ireland....."

Notwithstanding this Ireland is compelled to contribute \$100,000,000 a year in extra taxes to maintain this war—and in Ireland alone have municipal kitchens been opened to feed the poor. American institutions lent Dublin some millions of dollars to rebuild the parts of Dublin destroyed by the gunboats and incendiary bombs of the soldiers. This measure of relief is not yet available to the Dublin workers because Ireland has no merchant marine and facilities for importing required building material are not given her in other shipping.

The men who would continue to drug the Irish overseas with stories of Irish prosperity emphasise the increased tillage and higher prices received by the farmers than ever before. They forget to add that out of a population of over 4,000,000 the number of farmers who own their holdings is but a minor percentage of the entire population—while the labouring classes in town and country are in the majority. These last, struggling to live since food has reached unprecedented prices, and the small shopkeeper who cannot keep his shop stocked, alike, face quite serious conditions in Ireland.

Northcliffe on Ireland

The outlook of industrial labor is extremely bad in Ireland. I shall quote something further about this from Lord Northcliffe's address, which oddly enough coincides with the writings of that most brilliant of Irish journalists the Sinn Fein leader—*Arthur Griffiths.

"The palatial factories that have risen up in Great Britain in the last 24 years have no counterpart in Ireland, so that when the war is over and these superbly equipped establishments are turned to peaceful uses Irish wages and opportunities will be exactly where they are now.....", Northcliffe conceded.

*Griffith's paper—Sinn Fein—was before the war widely-read, and his fearless honesty and independence admired by the editors of democratic English papers like The Nation. His present paper—Nationality—is doubtless as well known there.

It is a matter of common knowledge that since the war the total value of English exports has increased, and she still has according to an official statement in the House of Commons this year over 3,000,000 men still at work in her factories. She has now in operation day and night over 1,000 munition factories alone, some of these "palatial." The London Express boasted a few months ago that they had scrapped all the old out-of-date machinery (of which the conservative English manufacturer had so much that his trade was suffering from American and German up-to-dateness before the war). At the close of the war, this editorial in the Express added, England will find herself better, equipped than ever for trade competition!

Compare with these facts conditions in Ireland, where some Irish industries have collapsed and not even 10 well or ill-equipped munition factories have been created to employ her labor. English politicians and the English people will insist that Ireland is an integral political part of England, yet considering her that, this is the treatment they mete out to her! Are they not laying themselves open to a well-based accusation of repeating 19th-century methods?—of forcing the poorer Irishman by economic distress to emigrate—or to enlist in the British Army and fight, as the late General Sir William Butler has described, for the upbuilding of an Empire which has bled his motherland white?

Today the Irishman is not permitted to emigrate to America—or to anywhere but Flanders.

"Concurrently with the closing down of emigration," continued Lord Northcliffe before the Irish Club, "is going on the curtailment of employment in such great industries for example as distilling and brewing.* There is an increasing number of the semi-employed usually.....to be found in the South and West.....Nobody seems to be considering the combined effect of the damming of the black tide of emigration and the industries, that are being stopped....."

Nobody that is but the recruiting officers who make estimates upon probable returns, and the Sinn Fein party and Irish laborers who see again the dark spectre of Hunger only too familiar to our race in the past century.

*The one industry in Irish Ireland that was allowed to flourish under the Union.

The Irish brewing industries are being stopped that grain may be saved to meet England's deficit created by the submarine campaign—but the brewery employes are not being provided with any other form of labor. The famous Beleck industry was closed because the War Office wanted a certain kind of sand used in that pottery, which they claimed to be exceedingly well adapted to manufacturing certain war material. Small woollen industries in Ireland are closed, because big English mills require so much wool for outfitting soldiers. I personally interested some Irish Members in 1915 in an effort to secure a contract for Army blankets for a small woollen-mill which afforded employment to numerous Irish girls. They were told by the regular authorities that the War Office would not require any more blankets! (Irish Members evidently are persona grata in London only when they are voting to help the dominant English party pass required English legislation. When it comes to asking anything for their own people they are regarded as a nuisance).

When recently Henry Ford, of Detroit, paid a large sum for a factory site in Cork English manufacturers of motors began the usual agitation in the press and political circles against the establishment of this Irish factory. The Sinn Fein leaders and the people of Ireland protested determinedly in Ireland against any interference or suppression of the factory; the Irish members worked for it in London—but the main reason that Ford got the necessary authorization for his enterprise was because he was an American millionaire—and American millionaires are now very influential personages in London officialdom. One cannot refrain from speculating why these same motor manufacturers of England did not try to prevent Ford building his two factories in England? Why is the "big stick" wielded only against Irish industries? Why was the big pottery enterprise planned at Arklow killed a few years ago?

The necessities of life have in Ireland reached prohibitive prices. The supply is limited, although Ireland produces sufficient for her own people, for in the disorganized state of Irish Government large quantities have been bought or contracted for by English agents and allowed—encouraged even—to be taken

from the country. It may be said that the Irish labourer has still the old alternative for starvation—enlistment in the Army. But the leaders of Irish Ireland and its laborers are as one in the belief that Ireland having undergone for 70 years the most ruthless economic conscription the civilized world has ever known, needs for herself every man in Ireland today. "The Serbian and Belgian races are no nearer extinction today than the Irish," they say. "The Irish race is not going to commit suicide."

Consequently Irishmen, of the poorer classes have been going with tightened belts. Irish laborers have been known to fall to the street fainting from hunger during the past winter. Women in Dublin are living on starvation wages. Skilled operatives have often been able to get only 5s, (\$1.25) a week. (These facts I take from public statements of a noted social service worker, the Rev. J. Mackenna, S.J., of Dublin. They tally with Lord Northcliffe's speech).

But another Englishman has recently given his evidence of Irish conditions today. Austin Harrison editor of the English Review, visited Ireland in August and in an article on Ireland in the September number of his magazine, he bears witness—

.. "It is impossible to pay the most cursory visits to Ireland without realizing the absence of an economic policy, the backwardness of things, and the stagnation of life as a consequence.

"More. The Starvation. There are said to be 80,000 people in Dublin living in starving conditions, the equal of our garrison in Ireland..... A large proportion of the people are living on bread and tea. At this moment the most serious problem is the bringing up of the children. There are children literally starving today in Dublin. There are many children suffering from insufficient rations. The death-rate is high. Without a doubt Dublin is faced with an acute economic problem which is the result in great part of our neglect of industrial conditions, our indifference to a country struggling with adverse circumstances aggravated by war.....

"All over Ireland—direlect mills, decayed cities, traces of former industry. Quarries unworked, woollen trade down, glass languishing, harbors unutilized.....

"Wages are low; the strikes in Cork are symptomatic signs of the growing problem. It is useless for us to say that the solution is military service, and that unless Irishmen are prepared to fight Irishmen can starve. We cannot afford that attitude. The world is watching us.....

Do we know that Ireland is one of the most backward countries in Europe; that Ireland is taxed higher

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than Switzerland; that the railway monopoly has crushed out initiative, and that WE are responsible for all this sadness? It is a terrible indictment."

When one reads this and knows, as since my residence in England I have every reason to know, that the English democracy care nothing for Ireland while the English oligarchy hates it, that out of England's millions not a thousand would see or write of Ireland with the sympathetic mind of Harrison or Sydney Brooks or Gilbert Chesterton or Philip Gibbs—one realizes why young Ireland has cried to Redmond for a decade: "Let us trust to Ourselves Alone!"

Again as in the famine-song wrung out of the hearts of the people in 1847 the Irish poor may cry—"We are down into the dust—over here, But the Lord in whom we trust...." has said—

"And I will restore to you the years that the locusts have eaten!"

Cuba and Ireland

The United States intervened in Cuban-Spanish relations because of the misery and unrest resulting in Cuba from three causes—(a) arbitrary colonial taxation, (b) restrictions of trade, and (c) the retention of Government and of public offices by the Spaniards to the exclusion of the Cubans.

The letter of arraignment of Spanish rule written by Tomas Estrada Palma, the Cuban patriot and leader, on Dec. 7th, 1895, to Richard Olney, Secretary of State in Cleveland's Cabinet, is almost a mirror of Irish conditions today.

Ireland also is "a naturally rich and fertile country intimately related to us" (Americans)—as President Cleveland described Cuba in his message to Congress. It is intimately related to all Irish-Canadians as well, and notwithstanding the fatuous rebukes of the Unionist press of Great Britain and "inspired" reproaches by outstanding men there to "Home Rule Colonial Statesmen"—the 20,000,000 of Irish blood overseas will never be convinced that they have not a sacred right to support the demands for liberty of the Irish people at Home.

If the Irish in Canada, Australia and the United States have not the right to support this demand then neither have they or their respective governments the right to be piling up enormous debts and taking a cruel

toll of young life in a war that is to secure to all nations the right to govern themselves. The English Unionist press that daily advocates aid to release Poland and Serbia and Belgium from alien government and to restore their territory, hints more or less raucously that the Dominions and America have no right to interfere in the "Irish problem."

I have even heard the same odd political doctrine—(which in its bluff is a timehonored form of Tory strategy in England)—reflected by their echo in Providence, N.J., as a baby-frog pipes back the rich "K'r-ronk!" of its deep-throated bull-frog parent. One and all they base their claims on the argument that this is a domestic problem of England. This too in the same year that the political powers of Westminster have been obliged to concede in their Convention plan that only the Irish themselves can evolve a satisfactory form of government for Ireland. They acknowledge again as in the Renunciation Act of 1783 that Ireland is a separate nation from England. Then even on their own acknowledgment, by all the canons of International Law and its analysis of national rights and international relations—the Irish question is the domestic affair of the Irish people only.

The Irish people moreover have not only once but many times appealed for moral support in their long struggle to America and to their Irish brethren the world over. It is then our duty not alone as men and women of Irish blood, but as citizens of civilized states to lend the weight of our support to the Irish people.

It is for the Irish people, as for all other civilized peoples, to formulate themselves the form of government essential to them,—and it is the duty not of the Irish race alone but of every enfranchised man to support their demand.

Today there has risen out of the agony and exhaustion of a struggle of unequalled duration, rehabilitating itself in a passionate and determined resolve to live gloriously again, the ancient Nation of the Irish people. Brooks has well written of this movement of Irish national resurrection: "There is no modern miracle more stupendous or fascinating."

As one of old Gaelic blood from the North and the South I have pleasure in quoting as a most concise and truthful expression of the Irish national demands to-

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day this passage from the address of a *Belfast Irishman, the founder of the Independent Orangemen in Ulster:

"We are asking nothing from England—nothing from British Statesmen that is not ours. (Loud continued applause). We are simply asking them to restore the title-deeds of our Nation; to restore to our country the liberty they wrested from her; to restore to our country her parliamentary rights. Irishmen ask England for nothing that is not theirs—the right to live as a free people, the right to mould their own destiny, the right to raise their own taxes, the right to educate their own children, the right to make that country Irish from top to bottom!"

*Lindsay Crawford, formerly of Belfast, in his St. Patrick Day address at Toronto, 1917.

THOUGHTS FOR THE FUTURE.

IRISH RAILWAYS.....In the Ireland of Tomorrow, governed by laws made in an Irish parliament for the Irish people, who will be the directing genius in the upbuilding of an adequate system of inland transportation in Ireland?

This question of transportation is a fundamental one in all modern development, agricultural and industrial. In Ireland before the war it was in as bad a way as it could possibly be in a civilized country in the 20th century. This condition at least the most biassed onlooker could not blame upon the Irish people.

There were in Ireland a few years ago only 4,458 miles of railway track, yet in control of this were 17 companies and over 20 Boards of directors! What possible co-ordination of system could be there? The operation and equipment of these roads were appallingly inefficient, the rates excessive.

They were administered—and very badly at that—by their English directors—not for the convenience of the Irish people, but for the dividends accruing to their English owners, who were the major holders of Irish railway stock. The old system of Irish waterways, by canals and rivers, have shared in the country's decay, but with a comparatively insignificant outlay of money they can readily be brought to a state of efficiency that will rival the best of these systems in Continental Europe.

An Irish M. P., who is a member of the Convention summoned by Lloyd George stated recently that the \$100,000,000 extra taxes annually taken out of Ireland for the war "would drain all the bogs and build all the roads and harbors we need. Two years of it would buy out the railways and canals."

Austin Harrison writing in his Review for September treats of this subject, so long agitated by the Sinn Fein party:

"Take the matter of railways. Transport rates are 37 per cent. higher than in England. It is cheaper to send cattle by road than by rail; cheaper to take coal from Scotland to a seaport than to get it ten miles inland; cheaper to carry goods to England and have them re-shipped to Ireland at English rates than to pay the Irish rates. A parcel can travel 500 miles in England for half the price it costs for thirty miles in Ireland.....And why? Because the railway monopoly run for the shareholders, thereby crushing Irish industries.....The case of Ireland's chief coal pit—at Castlecomer—deprived of a railway is a flagrant example.....Good anthracite seams—it does not pay to work them. The colliery works at a quarter pressure—and this in the hour of European coal famine!though it is merely the question of a slip line of eleven miles."

The Irish people have wanted this branch line for years, but Castle government and the English owners of this railway through Kilkenny say, "No." To a Canadian such a condition of affairs seems impossible: it would be in any other civilized country but Ireland under usurped rule by aliens. This is one of the many things that appall you in Ireland today.

Who will do for Ireland what noted Irish railway-builders have done for this continent? Who will revive the dream of John A. Poor, one of the earliest promoters of big transportation schemes in America, and make Galway, as he planned to do, the eastern terminus of a great fleet of ships on the Atlantic? What great builder will with his railway and sea-ports, revivify and develop Ireland, as Van Horne did for Cuba and Canada?

IRELAND'S INDUSTRIAL FUTURE. Young Ireland has not neglected the future of the Irish Industries. It has been in fact one of the cardinal principles of Sinn Fein, the Gaelic League and all the new forces of Ireland in the last decade to build up the old industries and check the deadly drain of Irish emigration.

Industriously, almost I might say heroically, with small means and no encouragement from the authorities in any direction but farming, they have been helping industries already struggling

to establish themselves and laying a foundation for others in the future. They pledged themselves to buy and use, wherever possible, only goods of Irish manufacture, and they preached the ideal of many small industrial centres, garden-villages, where living conditions could be made and kept wholesome and attractive—with agriculture as the main pursuit.

They preached the need of self-government too, simply asking England to leave the Irish people to govern Irish affairs after their own genius. As the late Professor Kettle wrote of their work:

"We do not want to brood over the Past..... We want to drain flooded river areas, replant the woods, get more out of the land, redeem the slums, write plays and poetry and books, fiddle, carol, dance and pray."

These energetic and patriotic forces of the New Ireland, men and women from North and South have urged the formation of a National Board of Commerce, the appointment of Irish Trade Counsuls in foreign countries, the possibilities in the hydraulic development of Ireland's rich water-power, her peat resources and opportunities of afforestation—the inviting opportunities for producing beet-sugar and tobacco—the unrivalled clay of Ireland for glassware and pottery—the revival of the leather trade for which Ireland was once noted in Continental markets—the development of the pork* and fish-curing industries, with Irish peat to give these products a flavor no other knows.

After hammering away on these topics for more than a decade in private and on the platform, in the columns of Sinn Fein, the Leader, the Gaelic League's organ and others of their press—the workers of New Ireland have at last seen Northcliffe, one of their bitterest antagonists formerly, declare publicly that the rich "waterpower, fisheries, harbours, mine and peat reserves of Ireland" have been shamefully neglected. The old teaching in England was that Ireland "the debtor nation" had no resources apart from farming. Englishmen who want to dominate and to

*Irish bacon is admitted to be the choicest on the London market, and brings the highest price, but the supply is too limited.

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try to justify their domination may make themselves believe that—it is not surprising.

But I was recently astounded to hear the same statement put forward by an eminent Canadian geologist who had paid a short visit to Ireland in pre-war days and was supplied with information by the "right" people. This prominent Canadian told me Ireland's lack of coal was the cause of her present industrial dependence on England. Marconi, the Italian inventor who was a member of the Italian mission to the United States in June of this year, stated in his speech to the Merchant's Association at the Hotel Astor, New York:

".....Italy is at a great disadvantage because alone among the great belligerent countries she possesses no coal, and the amount of iron at her disposal is strictly limited....."

Has anyone ever heard a sane man argue that Italy should not govern herself, but should become politically and industrially dependent upon Austria—because she has no coal and little iron? Suggest it to some Italian!

* * *

In Lord Northcliffe's amazing somersault last spring he strenuously opposed the idea that Ireland had no industrial resources and declared the usual arguments against her potential industrial development "would not bear examination." He added that while Ireland was said to have little coal she "possessed in her mighty rivers white coal of which millions of horse-power were being lost to Ireland every year." (It reads like a sentence from Griffiths new paper, Nationality, or from the Leader!)

PEAT....Northcliffe apparently did not have figures at hand concerning peat, but a conservative estimate made by experts* and quoted in the Sinn Fein Year Book of 1909, placed the known peat reserves at 5,400,000,000 tons. If, as maintained by Prof. Johnson, the renewal of the peat-beds can possibly be provided for—the peat ques-

*The Irish Peat Question, Johnson, Dublin, 1899.

tion becomes increasingly important. *With the Schlickeysen process used in Prussia and France peat can be made almost as effective as average coal, and it could be produced by this process in Ireland at 7s. a ton. An attempt by the Irish Department of Agriculture to develop this peat industry was blocked in the English Cabinet, it is said, by the late Lord Londonderry who represented large coal interests.

There are millions of acres of boglands in Ireland waiting their taming to agriculture by enterprise and money. One can readily imagine what it will mean to Ireland when one day the Irish press can record of these as casually as American papers noted this spring that —“300,000 acres of swamp land will be drained in Mississippi, Craighead and Poniset Counties, Arkansas The work will cost \$3,000,000 and will be completed in three years.”

COAL. . . . But has Ireland so little coal as she is popularly supposed to have?

A vein of coal never before known was discovered this year in the North and shipments are being made to the North of England from the mine.

The Royal Commission appointed to look into the question decided there were 180,000,000 tons of coal in the Leinster coal-fields alone. The Skehana seam at Castlecomer, Kilkenny, is authracite coal, believed to be an extension of the Welsh Authracite, but the output from these mines is limited because the Great Southern Railway (directed from England as previously stated) refuses to give the mine rail connection. This road carries into Ireland each year over 20,000 tons of English coal, and the citizen of Roscommon pays 70s. (\$12.50) a ton for English coal. Meanwhile good Irish coal lies undeveloped.

FORESTS. . . . Invasions, war and spendthrift absentee landlords have left standing few of Ireland's forests. Those that remain are an illustration of what has been and will again be. Sixty years ago

*From the chapter on, *The Boglands in The Irish Year Book—Leabhar na hEireann*, published by the National Council of Sinn Fein, 1909.

Dr. O'Sullivan urged upon the English Government officials in Ireland the afforestation of certain parts adapted only for tree-growing. In 1885, when Gladstone was enquiring into things Irish, Howitz a Danish expert reported officially that with improved afforestation alone the Island could be brought to support a population of 25 instead of five millions.

Nothing was done of course by the authorities, and the Irish people did not then own much of their land. Since the Land Purchase Act the afforestation of land by the individual as well as larger operations have been insistently preached by leaders of Sinn Fein and the Gaelic League, while a remarkable example has been given of successful afforestation by monks on the denuded Mount Mellary.

EDUCATION....The intense desire of the Gaelic mind for knowledge has led the Irish people to make the most of any system of education permitted to them, but there is wide scope in the future for an improvement in the material conditions of the primary schools and in the wretched salaries paid to teachers.

The National System of Education devised 80 years ago under the supervision of Dublin Castle gave new opportunities of learning, although it did prohibit the Irish language and Irish history. It also provided primary schools not much more comfortable than those hidden by the Irish in the hedge-rows in penal days.

"The Schoolmaster," an English Educational Journal in an article published eight years ago described many of these schools in the more Irish parts of Ireland as "hovels" and a disgrace to any country. In the majority of these "National" schools no fund was provided for fires in winter, and the teachers' wretched salary left no margin to provide for them out of their generosity. The article describes the barefooted children with "a sod or two of turf under the little arm of each," trudging through the rain to school to sit or stand all day on the stone or earthen floor, and it pertinently asks:

"Can anyone wonder at the fact that the white plague is ravaging the Irish people?"

It is not surprising that Lindsay Crawford, who knows his Ireland well, includes in the demands of the men of New Ireland ".....the right to educate their own children," as they should be educated without foreign interference or dictation.

When Ireland was ruled by Irishmen the great schools of Armagh and Clonmacnoise and Bangor and Clonard and Innisfallen and many another drew from Europe thousands of foreigners by their excellence. Already increasing numbers of youth of Irish blood are returning for their education to the higher schools of Ireland. Before many decades we will see the realization of Cardinal Newman's prophecy for Erin: ("I look toward a land both old and young.... I contemplate a people which have had a long night, and will have an inevitable day. Thither as to a sacred soil, the home of their fathers and the fountain-head of their Christianity, students are flocking from East, West and South.....")

Eire will then again be the light of the Western World.

CANADA AND IRELAND.... Last March the various Orange papers of Canada printed a round-robin editorial—"Hands off Ireland"—(If they and their allies at Westminster only would!) In this article they objected to the overseas Irish supporting their Motherland's demand for a free government, because:--

"First of all Canadians, whatever their views in respect to Home Rule, should remember that the question is one which under the constitution of the Empire can be finally dealt with exclusively by the British Parliament."

C'est à rire, as the French say, but not surprising in that quarter. Only too many papers on this continent have up to now considered a man eligible for an editorial chair even if his mind is primitively innocent of international history and politics. The writer of this editorial is not only unacquainted with the findings of International Law, but he is actually naively ignorant concern-

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ing the British Empire. Otherwise he would know that it has no Constitution, either written or formulated.

This is one of the great problems before England's Imperial statesman after the war. They have already arranged passably well for Trade contingencies, even in the midst of this appalling sacrifice of human lives, but the Constitution of the British Empire is still an eel to be caught by the tail. Its formation even depends to a large degree upon the good-will and vote of the population of Canada and Australia. Both of these include a notably large Irish population, and it may not be amiss to recall that in Australia in 1916, after the Irish Rising of Easter, the plan of Conscription was largely killed by the Irish vote.

Canadians have a particular right to speak upon free governmental institutions to the Imperial Parliament in London. For it was Canada that first introduced the idea of autonomous self-government into the British Empire. This is an unquestionable fact, though so great is the popular indifference to history that even many Canadians join in the world-wide eulogies of English statesmanship for evolving this novelty in the process of governing.

Canada secured for herself self-government and a constitution—1st, by a Rebellion, whose patriotic participants have already taken their place as national heroes, 2nd, by the long and persistent agitation preceding and following this, an agitation in which French and Scotch leaders dominated. It was Lord Durham, an amiable receptive statesman, assisted by his Irish secretary Charles Butler, who first consolidated for English statesmen the views and desires of our Canadian statesmen. Durham, invested with large powers on his mission here to quiet the Canadian agitation, accepted the Canadian ideal of self-government—and was on his return sent to Coventry for doing so, by the very school of statesmen who are now applauded by the uninformed as the originators of autonomous Colonial government.

There is however no political analogy between Canada and Ireland. Canada was a French col-

ony, seized in its earliest development by England; after decades of continuous agitation it evolved for itself out of Gallic and Gaelic brains its present form of autonomous government.

Ireland on the contrary never was a colony. She was already a federated Nation of four kingdoms under a High-King (Ard-Ri) when Britain was still a Roman colony. For close to 1,000 years before she was invaded by English forces she was an organized nation. Her monarchical institutions and her triennial parliament at Tara for all Ireland existed centuries before there was an English Parliament.

In 573, at the General Assembly of this Parliament presided over by the Ard-Ri Hugh, an example was set to all future rulers by recognizing after a spirited debate the Independence of the Irish colony in Alba (Scotland). 1,200 years later England went to war with the American colony upon an identical issue—so differently constituted are the Gaelic political genius and the Sassenach!

The Gaelic assuredly and naturally desires to dominate in its own house, but it readily agrees that other men shall have the same right.

WHY NOT IRELAND? . . . Premier Lloyd George, speaking at Glasgow on June 29th last, stated of Armenia, Palestine, Belgium, Mesopotamia and other small nations (Ireland unfortunately being omitted)—

"The wishes, desires and interests of the people themselves of all these countries must be the dominant factor in settling their future government. . . ."

He would be merciful even to his enemies—

"No one," he continued, "wishes to dictate to the German people the form of Government under which they should choose to live."

Yet he has, since being yoked with the Cecils and Carsons and Lansdownes, no bowels of compassion for the Irish. It was this same man, here coolly omitting Ireland from the list of small nations to whom Justice must be done, who last March declared that a meagre corner of Ireland, populated by the descendants of people unfairly settled there by his predecessors in office, should

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if it desired dictate to the Irish nation concerning the future governing of Ireland.

There are no deductions to be drawn from this. It speaks for itself. So does Indian feeling!

What moved that most gentle philosopher of the East—Sir Rabindarath Tagore to write in the Atlantic Monthly of last March such harsh words as these of "Western Nationalism" (by which he as evidently means Western Imperialism)? The great Indian says:

" It is like the pack of predatory creatures that must have its victims. But, all the same, moral law is the law of humanity and the exclusive civilization which thrives upon others who are barred from its benefits carries its own death sentence in its moral limitations. The slavery to which it gives rise unconsciously drains its own life of freedom dry. And the greater part of the world which is being denuded of its self-sustaining life by the nation(?) will one day become the most terrible of all its burdens ready to drag it down into the bottom of destruction. "

WHY HOLD IRELAND?

There is an obvious but unadvertised reason for commercial England's desire to retain Ireland in the Union, as a pastoral country with broken industries—an industrial dumping-ground at her very door.

Consider the fact that in 1914 (when Ireland's population was less than 4,500,000) the total amount of trade between the two countries amounted to £135,000,000, while the total of United States trade with England in the same year (when the American population was around 100,000,000) was not more than £173,000,000. Ireland is to-day the dumping-ground of the English manufacturer who naturally wants to retain this profitable trade-preserve.

And just as surely does the Norman-English aristocrat, and the would-be Norman-English and the dominating Englishman in every class from the precincts of St. James to Harrow or Shoreditch, want to retain this alien country's territory as a buttress to his "Imperial rule over one-fifth of the earth"—about which on occasions he can swagger with a vulgarity that is restrained, or not, according to his caste.

And as surely too does the English militarist of land or sea desire to hold Ireland as his pawn. Weigh that recent memorial of the Navy League to the English Government in which they term Ireland "the Heligoland of the Atlantic," admitting at last what for other reasons in the past was denied by these people—that Ireland has 18 good harbors of which "five are first-class harbors"—and urging repeatedly,

"It is necessary that not only the sanction but the free and full concurrence of the highest naval and military authorities should be forthcoming before any proposals which may be put forward by the Irish Convention are adopted by His Majesty's Government."

A plain blunt proposition—this—to submit to a conclave of British militarists, as a court of last resort, the findings of a Convention which to America and Russia has been proclaimed as a **representative Irish Convention**, though Westminster refused to submit the findings of its non-elected, Westminster-appointed delegates to the **Irish People!**

These three reasons combined have made Ireland for 750 years a pawn of her neighbor, the professed champion to-day of "small nations." Analyze these reasons now, clear-visioned men and women of the New World, in the light of the great conflagration that burns to "make the world safe for Democracy."

SINN FEIN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Which Is Drawing Ireland Together Again As in 1783

It is a basic truth of all democratic teachings—as set out in President Wilson's admirable declaration on this subject recently, but even more clearly defined in the American Declaration of Independence—that all political power is derived from the people, and that no people or state can legally govern another people without the consent of the governed.

The most remarkable National movement in the world today is that of the Sinn Fein party in Ireland, and it bases all its teachings on this truth. It is still, as Sydney Brooks described it in 1907:—

“.....the political spearhead for which the Gaelic League, the industrial revival, the co-operative movement and the faint pulsation of a democratic spirit, consciously or not, have provided the shaft.....” and—“The tenacity of the Sinn Fein is the tenacity—not of obstinacy but of a cool, far-seeing and inflexible purpose.”

Brooks described the Sinn Feinnidhe themselves elsewhere as “clear-eyed, forceful men who mean business and have backbone”—a body of men with “bold, definite and sensible views on education, tillage, port dues, afforestation,....an Irish merchant marine....”—men who are “strongly constructive.”

I use the words of the English publicist, because they convey exactly my own impression. Men of their stamp we find in North America at the head of large business enterprises where self-reliance, brains, initiative and devotion to the task in hand are demanded. In Ireland they are devoting all this brains and energy and shrewd vision to the restoration of Ireland to the Irish people, and the revival of the Irish language.

They may have been—they likely are—the offspring

of a generation of dreamers, but in their own lives they are emphatically men of action. They do not practise the "mean wisdom" of which their leader Griffiths has written. They are men of direct and honest speech—amazingly so in an age that was growing corrupt with political intrigue and sophisticated evasion. "No nation ever won its freedom with a lie on its lips," they preach—and actually practise.

As a means of compelling England to recognize the claim of Ireland to self-government they originally advocated the withdrawal of the Irish Party from Westminster and the setting up of a National Council at Dublin of 300 members. This was to consist of the members of Parliament already elected, the General Council of the county councils already in existence, with representatives from Urban councils and elected delegates from the principal towns. These were to frame resolutions by which the Irish people would be governed through the machinery of the various councils already in existence in city and country districts.

A similar boycott of Austrian political institutions had won for Hungary self-government; it would still succeed in Ireland, they held. O'Connell had once advocated such a Council at Dublin, before Butt came on the scene with his plan of winning Home Rule at Westminster. The Sinn Feinnidhe maintained that everything Ireland had yet won back from England had been gained from an agitation on the soil of Ireland itself, not by a minority leading a drugged political existence in a powerful, foreign parliament.

This was their original plan. The Great War came, submerging for a time interest in the quiet work of the party, which has emerged demanding complete independence for Ireland, but which never deviated from its plan of conduct. One group of lovers of Ireland went out to Eternity by the same high road that Owen Roe and Tone and Emmet went. They gave gladly of their blood to win Irish freedom, and while their bodies have been burned in Maxwell's quicklime.—

"They shall be remembered forever,
They shall be alive for ever,
They shall be speaking forever,
The people shall hear them forever."

More tangibly, if not more potently, the constitu-

tional Sinn Feinnidhe have continued their pervasive work for the Irish language and industries and the revitalizing of the national spirit. Today they feel assured of the permanent return of the Irish Gaelic language in Ireland.

The upheaval of political systems brought about by the war has made the Sinn Feinnidhe advocates of an Irish Republic. If as seems likely they win to their policy the majority of the Irish people the Peace Conference will be asked to recognize Irishmen's right to devise their own form of government. In 1916 it was officially stated in the Commons at Westminster that Venizelos' provisional government (which disclaimed King Constantine's rule) could only be recognized by England if a majority of the Greek nation demanded this government. Since then England has recognized the Russian Republic as demanded by the Russian People.

The principles of International Law and its usages are general in their application. They do not alter with the geographical location of a country; they apply equally to a nation in the Mediterranean or the Irish Sea.

SINN FEIN TO-DAY. There is an amount of current information concerning this evolution of the National movement in a letter of mine that appeared in the Montreal Gazette of July 25th, 1917, and which in part follows:

Sir,—In an editorial of The Gazette on Friday last all of your informed Irish-Canadian readers saw with regret a reference to the Sinn Fein party as "Apostles of physical force."

This idea is so obviously incorrect that it is no longer employed as an instrument against Sinn Fein by even the most reactionary of Unionist papers in London. It is regrettable that any portion of the Canadian press should even unconsciously perpetuate what has been a long campaign of misrepresentation.

As was made clear by a despatch to The Gazette of July 12th, as well as in Irish papers, even de Valera and the other political prisoners of 1916 have decided, while continuing their demand for a republic, to align themselves with the Sinn Fein constitutional methods. "This new policy of using the machinery of a constitutional election to promote a revolution is called the

'Reading Policy'—(Gazette, July 12th), because these men decided upon it in Reading Gaol after Count Plunket, the Sinn Fein candidate was elected in North Roscommon.

Deak's revolution that won for Hungary its own government was bloodless, as was the revolution of social reform that Lloyd George was leading in England before the war. This Sinn Fein political revolution in Ireland will be also bloodless, for their policy is directly modelled upon that of Deak. The Sinn Feinnidhe are not now—and never have been—a party organized for physical force; their leader continues to sit in an editorial chair with his pen for his sword.

The Rising of Easter, 1916, was not a Sinn Fein rising nor were the party leaders in it, though some brilliant young men from its members were. The Rising was accomplished by Labour's Citizen Army and the Irish Republican Brotherhood, which since 1914 had drawn to it several men who were formerly Nationalist Parliamentary or Sinn Fein. . . .

This movement has now captured all of young Ireland and is consolidating itself by increasing streams of the older men to its ranks. The leaders of the movement are all laymen, almost equally of the Protestant and Catholic faith. Among the members are younger scions of the nobility and cottagers from remote hill-sides—practically all the younger Catholic clergy, the Independent Orangemen and several Catholic Bishops. In addition to its scores of branches organized for many years, a multitude of new centres have sprung up since 1914—hundreds in the last three months alone—and still the cry goes up from Ulster as well as from Connaught for more centres.

The elderly but vigorous Bishop O'Dwyer who in the past has been a strong supporter of the Irish Parliamentary Party, stated solemnly last month, when the freedom of Limerick was conferred upon him:

"Only the Sinn Fein policy is the policy for today!"

This policy is patterned entirely on that by which Deak won Hungarian self-government. When organized early in this century its leaders defined their aim as securing for Ireland a Government as free and full as Hungary has—a form of government more befitting the dignity of an ancient Kingdom like Ireland than the inadequate provisions of any of the Home Rule Bills ever suggested; for each of these outlined only an em-

asscuated form of Colonial Government vastly inferior to that enjoyed by Canada or Australia, inferior even to that accorded Alsace-Lorraine by Germany. These measures withholding all control of Irish trade and taxes, the Sinn Fein party very openly flouted, for they are as frankly truthful as they are determined. It was, they claimed, a form of government beneath the consideration of Ireland which was not and never had been a Colony. They reminded Irishmen that their country (however deeply humiliated in the past seven centuries) was a more ancient national entity than Great Britain—that her monarchical institution and Triennial Parliament at Tara existed centuries before there was an English Parliament.

The original constitution of the Sinn Fein party states honestly:

(1) "The object of Sinn Fein is the re-establishment of the independence of Ireland."

It continues, defining its aim at that time:

(2) "The aim of the Sinn Fein policy is to unite Ireland on this broad national platform: 1st, That we are a distinct nation; 2nd, That we will not make any voluntary agreement with Great Britain until Great Britain keeps her own compact which she made by the Renunciation Act of 1783, which enacted that the rights claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of that Kingdom is hereby declared to be established and ascertained forever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable."

* * *

Every outsider who has closely studied Irish affairs of late agrees with Sydney Brooks, the English publicist, who wrote ten years ago in the Daily Mail that " for winning Irish self-government the Sinn Fein policy is by far the most efficient instrument that has yet been devised, easy and flexible to wield, most bafflingly difficult to counter or to beat down"

Back of this flexible constitutional policy now are the finest brains of Ireland, the shrewdest political minds among young Irishmen of North and South. The Irish party leaving a cumbersome political machine at home to watch their interests—a machine made up of the type of men who man political machines in every country—have for two decades been submitted

to the deadly process of marking time in opposition in a foreign capital, away from their homes nine or ten months every year, and exposed to the subtle manipulations of English party leaders. The Sinn Feinnidhe meanwhile have been in Ireland, preaching a gospel of home industries instead of foreign exploitation, of honest speech instead of political intrigue, winning the North and South to a renewal of the Brotherhood of 1782, drawing to themselves all that was best in the young blood of Ireland.

When the inevitable crisis came, precipitated by the war and its world-wide demand for the freedom of small nations, the Sinn Fein party was the one rock that stood up in the deluge. Even the men who resorted to arms in 1916 have decided on calm reflection that the Sinn Fein party have, as Brooks diagnosed it in 1907, "put themselves at the head of all forces that are making Ireland more Irish and more practical." Again, too, in Sinn Fein of 1917, as in 1782, a multitude of the Protestant Irish stand hand in hand with their Catholic countrymen as brothers. In this sophisticated age also they stand ready to expose and reject any renewal of the London-made intrigues that so diabolically pushed their ancestors apart 125 years ago.

So today the people of Ireland are falling into line behind the Sinn Fein leaders. Irish Nation Leaguers, Independent Orangemen, Irish Republican Brotherhood, and thousands, who were once devoted adherents of the Irish Parliamentary party, are hastening to the ranks. It is a logical outcome of the fusion begun fifteen years ago. For the Sinn Fein movement embodies the clearest conception of the national idea in Ireland now.

It is the National party in Ireland to-day.
Montreal, July, 16th, 1917.

SINN FEIN AND THE CONVENTION

The Sinn Fein, (which has organizations in every part of Ireland now), the Gaelic League (which is closely identified with the first and which extends over Ireland not for political purposes but for the revival of the Irish language and industries) O'Brien and Healy's Independent Nationalists, the Irish Labor Party (which has nominated delegates to the Stockholm Socialist Conference to present Ireland's claims for independence there) and the Socialists—have all refused to take part in the Irish Convention, nominated by Premier Lloyd George and called by him to consider the settlement of the Irish question—out of deference, it is believed to America's desire to see justice done Ireland.

The attitude of these various parties which have many things in common is suggested in a letter of the Most Rev. Dr. MacHugh, Bishop of Derry, to the Dublin Independent recently. He writes:

"The method adopted to give free and untrammelled expression to Irish sentiment is by appointing what is in effect a Parliamentary Committee, and by nominating a body of men who, it is expected, will carry out the wishes of the Government regardless of what the mere Irish may think. Is not this a strange way of allowing Ireland unfettered liberty to frame a Constitution that would meet the demands of Justice and satisfy her aspirations. The game is being played, the parties engaged in it, and the stakes on the table can be a secret only to those who would shut their eyes to current events.....

"The only Convention that could speak in the name of Ireland, or bring about the peace we all desire is one freely elected by the people for the specific purpose of settling the Irish Question in a way acceptable to all concerned....."

William O'Brien declined the nomination given him, as well as a personal appeal from Premier Lloyd

George, because he was refused an undertaking by the Government that the decisions of this nominated Convention should be afterward submitted to a referendum of the Irish people. He stated that—"The type of convention selected defeats the object in view with fatal certainty by leaving the great mass of Irish Nationalist opinion almost wholly unrepresented."

The Sinn Fein party declined to send any delegates unless the Convention was composed of "none but persons freely elected by adult suffrage in Ireland." This offer was refused as O'Brien's was, so the National Council of the Sinn Fein party are summoning a National Convention to be held this autumn with elected delegates from all parts of Ireland.

Meanwhile there proceeds the Great War for the freedom of small nations, after which, according to ex-Prime Minister Asquith at Dublin on September 25th, 1914:

"Room must be found and kept for the independent existence and the free development of the smaller nationalities."

Russia, which bids fair to set the new pace in political evolution has announced formally in its Government's proclamation of April 9—"Free Russia does not aim at the domination of other nations, at depriving them of their national patrimony or at occupying by force foreign territories. . . . its object is to establish a durable peace on the rights of nations to decide their own destiny."

Lord Robert Cecil, speaking on behalf of the English Government on May 23 last, in reference to his speech of May 16, said,—"I made it clear that the British aims in the war were in harmony with those of our Russian allies. I laid special stress on the fact that our aims were dictated solely by our determination to secure a peace founded on national liberty and international amity."

(Lord Robert did not explain how the army of occupation of over 180,000 English soldiers in Ireland harmonizes in his mind with the Russian declaration against "occupying by force foreign territories.")

SINN FEIN OUTLOOK

While prominent men from the North and the South hold amiable conversations and learn a wholesome mutual respect in the long-drawn-out sessions of Lloyd George's Convention, the question of Ireland's destiny is being discussed as never in Ireland before in every town and countryside by the Irish People.

It is not alone the West that is awake. All Ireland is awake—and the most vital force in its present development, as it was the most potent agent in its awakening, is the Sinn Fein party which had its origin in Dublin at the beginning of this century. Of this party an unsympathetic Canadian correspondent lately conceded in his cable—"Sinn Fein is sweeping over the country like wild-fire!"

Unionists and Redmond followers alike admit this new National movement has captured the country. It has drawn to itself Sir Francis Vane, the commander of the English forces that suppressed the Rising of Easter, 1916. It has won tributes for the high character, the patriotism and unselfishness of its leaders from Unionist opponents and impartial onlookers. Vane in a formal statement publicly asserts that "Sinn Fein is now the only Irish policy".....that "behind Sinn Fein is the Soul of Ireland which fights and struggles against injustice and wrong." Col O'Callaghan—Westropp, former Unionist Candidate of Clare wrote to the Irish Times after the Clare election a warm tribute to the character of leaders like Eoin MacNeil and Eamon de Valera without whom, he claimed, no Irish Convention could be complete or representative. Of de Valera he wrote:

"If the Sinn Fein party can produce many candidates such as he is, we are on the eve of great events. He stands for a purer nationality, unsullied by class hatred and uncorrupted by appeals to greed.....We Irish hope that so great a fire may light us on the road to nobler things....."

Thomas Sinclair, a noted Ulster Unionist leader, has written an equally remarkable letter. While many of the more thoughtful and highly-educated youth in Unionist families have for some time been followers of Sinn Fein their elders now give numerous indications that they are being drawn back to their natural National affiliations—either by race-feeling or by the cold reasoning of Griffith and MacNeill—that after this war an independent Ireland will escape the burden of taxation that pressed so terribly on a-bound Ireland after the Napoleonic wars. England's war-debt, the Sinn Fein leaders point out is now close to \$26,000,000,000. It will if the war continues shortly be \$30,000,000,000 or more. Whatever the cause the Unionist is melting and every day sees new adherents to the ranks of Sinn Fein.

The growing unity of sentiment between the erstwhile Unionist and the predominant Sinn Fein Nationalist is reflected in Austin Harrison's study of Ireland: "I omit all mention of the Ulster problem, except to say this: that I found in Ireland in moderate quarters a growing conviction that just as the idea of partition was condemned by both North and South, so the feeling of concord between the two peoples, as distinct from the political motives which have done so much to divide them, was growing into an outlook of reasonable harmony.*"

"So far as the religious antagonism is concerned I was agreeably astonished. We greatly exaggerate its importance in England. I found Catholics on the most friendly terms with Protestants. As the economic problem of Ireland rises in the foreground, so the religious difficulty tends to disappear."

That the Sinn Fein party works under difficulties is also apparent from Harrison's study. He was in Ireland during the Kilkenny election. (Incidentally he notes that Kilkenny was "once a flourishing town of 40,000 but now reduced by emigration to 11,000"). Not being used to living under English rule in Ireland this English editor was humiliated to see the police prevent a crippled street musician from playing the "Wearing of the Green" on his concertina. He protests against the unfair suppression of the Kilkenny

*Austin Harrison editor of *English Review*, in the September number of that magazine.

paper with soldiers under orders destroying the plant. "Sinn Fein literally held the town," he says, and owing to that the police told him drunkenness was completely absent although an election contest was on. In the procession celebrating Cosgrave's election the girls of Kilkenny, all Sinn Fein, "marched with the men, five abreast, with a true military swing. "The Sinn Feins have their own police, their own pickets. The watchword is: 'No disorder.' Not a policeman has anything to do....." In Dublin Mr. Harrison sees a crowd of young people gather to welcome Cosgrave. He did not arrive and the crowd "sing songs and gradually dwindle, then later there is a baton charge. For no special reason. A young man lies on the pavement, senseless.....knocked out.....The Cossack method. Again I wonder whether the emotional Welsh Prime Minister knows of our police government in Ireland. I have seen Cossacks do that in Petrograd. I am puzzled. There was no riot. There was no reason for any violence.....to knock a man out and leave him like a dog in the street seems a queer way in the Empire of Liberty. I never saw the Berlin police do that. I go to bed that night ashamed."

Police-ridden Ireland

Paul Dubois in his exhaustive studies for the French public a few years ago found Ireland police-ridden. There was much less crime and less serious crime, proportionately to population in Ireland than in England or Scotland. Yet Ireland was afflicted by an alien government with the expense of one constable to every 362 of her population, England one to every 541 and Scotland with only one to every 885. The reason for this on M. Paul-Dubois' investigation was that Irish policemen were used to provoke "incidents" which kept the people uneasy and restless. Conditions are naturally worse under the martial law prevailing in Ireland now.

The present Government there, Mr. Harrison protests, "acts arbitrarily. No man knows what it will do next, what man it will arrest, what man it will refrain from arresting.....The result is a growing bitterness, a sense of injustice, a feeling of suspicion, an atmosphere of terrorism.

"Having pardoned the leaders of Sinn Fein and al-

lowed them to return to their movement, it is utterly inconsistent to arrest their subordinates, to continue to treat Sinn Fein as a revolutionary movement..... The physical force business was begun by Ulster and supported by English Tories and Members of Parliament. To allow Ulster to retain its weapons and arrest Sinn Fein Nationalists for possessing them is not logical or just....."

There is a grave warning in this notable article of Mr. Harrison's for the English authorities now administering power. When summing up conditions he admits:

"The feeling in Ireland today is Sinn Fein, 'Ourselves alone.' It differs from other movements in that it is strictly national and not personal, as the Parnell Home Rule movement was. It is thus far more potential..... Its effects are already admitted to be social. There is a great decrease in drink. All those who have intimate knowledge of Irish life agree that Sinn Fein at present is bent on organization and order, not on disorder, and that it will endure to the limits of what is known in Ireland as administrative provocation.

"That is the danger at the present time."

Mr. Harrison was struck forcibly by "the strong discipline among responsible Sinn Feiners, who today are fully conscious of their power and are the last people likely to jeopardise the reality of the movement by futile attempts at rebellion. But—" (and here we get echoes of the old policy before 1798)—"in Ireland I heard ugly rumors. I met people there who are agitating to create trouble. I came across political fire-brands and incendiaries who seemed to think the only solution lay in Cossack ruthlessness, and were openly working to instil that poison into the ring in Phoenix Park. I heard too often that foolish phrase, 'the strong hand.' Under military government we know what that means. But it would be fatal in Ireland today—fatal because of the international situation, fatal to the very creed of our Empire."

This is a significant rebuke for the anti-Irish "political fire-brands and incendiaries" who are trying to provoke rebellion in Ireland, trying to sway the Vice-Regal Lodge to their will. When it was so apparent to an English visitor, what a handicap it must be to

the legitimate work and aspirations of the leaders of Sinn Fein, all of whom Harrison found preaching "discipline, order, organization—constitutionalism."

They like he must ask themselves why armored motor cars are being brought into Ireland, why Ireland is overrun with "the vicious espionage system" which Harrison manfully acknowledges is a disgrace to English civilization. They like he wonder why responsible Sinn Feinnidhe like Professor MacNeil and Arthur Griffiths and others are not allowed to communicate with America and Canada. "Such measures," he well adds, "merely add oil to the flames and facilitate the incendiarism of the irreconcilables, be they in America or in Ireland." The truth of this last is apparent to everyone who has heard the comment of Canadians and Americans upon the vexing and impertinent censorship, not simply upon letters of the Sinn Fein leaders, but of all letters to and from Ireland since June 1916. The Sinn Fein leaders like Harrison must wonder if Henry Duke and Sir Brian Mahon will permit themselves now "to be swayed by the reactionary forces urging them to 'the reconquest of Ireland' "—for to all appearances the coolest, the most potentially powerful men in Ireland today are the leaders of the Sinn Fein party.

There is fresh danger of a rebellion in Ireland, but if it unhappily comes the blame for it will not rest with the Sinn Fein party or leaders, who will not readily risk the lives of the few sons remaining to Ireland. The blame will be with those Harrison found provoking a rebellion, and in Westminster's renewed threat of Conscription of the pitiable small remnant of young Irish manhood—less than 200,000 men. This is an amazing threat (or corollary of certain limited measures of self government to be advanced by Lloyd George's Irish Convention), while 180,000 English soldiers stand idle in Ireland, occupying it. Coming from a country which officially acknowledges over 3,500,000 men of military age in its own borders it unhappily suggests to depopulated Ireland the measures that preceded and provoked the Rising of 1798.

The Sinn Fein party, while continuing its polity of constitutional agitation for freedom, has always insisted, however, upon Ireland's right as a Nation to its own voluntary militia. They continue to have drilling

exercises and they retain every gun they can—not to precipitate a Rebellion, but to do as the armed Volunteers did in Grattan's day—achieve their ends without bloodshed.

SINN FEIN METHODS

Despite the English armoured cars, machine guns, and the garrison of 180,000 the methods of Arthur Griffiths have not varied one iota from the days when he took up the Sinn Fein apostolate from the dead lips of Liam Rooney worn out early with the ardours of a soul too great to be held by its clay.

Griffith's weapon is Reason, and its vehicles are the press and the club and the platform. In more than 1,000 Sinn Fein clubs the programme of the new party is discussed now in Ireland, and their membership grows daily. In every county willing young men and women give of their leisure to carry on the work. They have already a more respectably substantial platform than most political parties, but they are busy strengthening the constructive side of their plan.

By a house-to-house canvass of every home in Ireland they are arranging for the popular election of their delegates to the National Council.

"The great goal of our political endeavours is now the Peace Congress," Griffiths announced in one issue of his paper this summer. And in this and others he makes clear to Irish minds at least why he has added the newest plank to his platform. As an illustration, one of his arguments may be quoted, from "Nationality" of July 28, 1917.

"Ireland's revenue for the current year will be £30,000,000. That sum is equal to the normal revenue of Belgium which has a population nearly double ours to tax and provide for. It is £6,000,000 greater than the revenue of Romania, £8,000,000 greater than the revenue of Sweden, £11,000,000 greater than the revenue of Holland. It is equal to the combined revenues of Denmark, Switzerland, Norway and Greece. It is thrice the revenue of Bulgaria, and nine times the revenue of Switzerland.

"Ireland raises the largest revenue of the small nations of Europe—and what does she get for it?

* * *

"Holland, Sweden and other countries obtain and maintain an army and fleet, a diplomatic and Consular service and administration of Dutch and Swedish affairs by Dutchmen and Swedes. Ireland gets none of these things. The thirty million goes to defray the expenses of the subjection of Ireland to English interests, and to put a handsome profit in England's pocket.

"So much for revenues. Take population. In that particular Ireland, despite the artificial famine and the steady exodus set up thereby, equals Serbia, almost equals Bulgaria, and exceeds Norway, Denmark and Switzerland. In extent Ireland is nearly three times as large as Belgium, twice-and-a-half the size of Holland, more than double the size of Denmark or Switzerland and almost equal to Serbia. Holland, Belgium and Montenegro combined are not as large as Ireland.

"Spain the most powerful of neutral countries has a revenue only 25 per cent. greater than the revenue of Ireland. Out of that she administers the affairs of a population four and a half times greater than our present population and keeps up a first rate army and a second rate fleet.

"Keep these facts in mind when humbug and ignorance prate of "Little Ireland."

* * *

Again in a September number of Nationality one reads:

"Sinn Fein proposed as the third of its aims:

'The re-establishment of an Irish Mercantile Marine to facilitate direct trading between Ireland and the countries of Continental Europe, America, Africa and the Far East.'

"The desirability of the proposal was questioned—extraordinary though it may seem. The practicability of it was denied. That it was practicable for the Irish nation to buy commodities it required from the producers and send commodities of its own in exchange, without bribing the English middleman—that it was practicable for Ireland to do what every sensible country with a coast line does was denied. It was asked

how Ireland could hope to build this marine. Sinn Fein replied and replies that Ireland can build this marine as Norway—a country with half our population and less than half our wealth—has built here: by the people forming joint-stock shipping companies. In Norway a few score or a few hundred workmen, sailors or fishermen club together and buy or build a ship. They send it out around the world to look for trade and thus they have built up the third greatest mercantile marine in existence, and made profit for their country and themselves.

"Believing that the Irish are not less men and not less intelligent than the Norwegians I suggest in all seriousness that the way to build up a mercantile marine is the Norwegian way, and that until we do build up that marine our trade and commerce will continue at England's mercy and its expansion will be impossible. . . . Ireland has no trade representatives abroad. The Consuls of the so-called United Kingdoms boycott Irish industries in the countries to which they are accredited. . . . Sinn Fein proposed:—'The establishment of an Irish Consular service for the advancement of Irish Commerce and Irish interests generally.'

"Twenty Irishmen sent to the twenty chief trading countries of the world whose goods Ireland purchases, to seek Ireland's share of their trade would cost the Irish people £10,000 annually. If they secured for Ireland 1 per cent. of the annual trade of those countries it would mean an increased revenue of £20,000,000 annually for Ireland."

This is the Sinn Fein idea of one way to break England's "monopoly of the Irish market," one of the "richest things in her possession."—A monopoly which forcing Ireland into the English market alone—forces her there "to sell at England's price and to buy at England's price."

While Griffith's keen pen and intellect probe every dubious cranny of the political, social and economic administration of Ireland Professor Eoin MacNeil has been extending his activities outside Ireland. Not into America, because he is for some occult reason of Dublin Castle permitted no communication with America. (Perhaps this is for the same august and incommunicable reason that George Bernard Shaw was prohibited from going to America some months

ago and was in consequence obliged to cancel a lecture tour there—as likewise the noted English Unitarian divine selected for the President of the Unitarian Conference in Montreal in September 1917, and who was denied his passport by the English Government.)

An Irish Republic

It is in London, through the columns of the English Review, that Eoin MacNeill has projected his gospel of National rights. In the September number of the Review he supplements Major Stuart Stephens' earlier advocacy of an Irish Republic within the Empire. The Major patterned his Irish Republic upon the existing South African Republic. MacNeill affirms:—

"This is a case in which England as well as Ireland ought to take its courage in both hands. . . . The right and the wise thing for England to do is to consent freely, without grudge, if possible with generous cordiality, to the establishment of an Irish Republic unconditionally. That is the proposal I have to make. I make it because I want to see a true and final settlement of the differences between my country and England, because I am convinced that national liberty, unlimited except by that interdependence which I hope for among all civilized nations, is the best thing for Ireland. I hold that it will also be best for England."

This cool statement would be undoubtedly startling to the readers of the Review five years ago. It falls calmly enough now because—as MacNeill says—"The war itself is the death agony of the old political world," and ". . . even now a new wine is fermenting that will not be contained in the old bottles."

MacNeill's scheme of Interdependence which he personally stresses and which seems to have strongly impressed Harrison is introduced by noting how many of the belligerent Powers have "themselves questioned the right of sovereignty. . . by Imperial States over subject nations. Great Britain and France have echoed the declarations of America and Russia. The doctrine of the rights of nations has been set up against the doctrine of absolute sovereignty. It is not unlikely that the theory of independence may have to give way to a theory of interdependence."

MacNeill replies to the "only two objections of importance" he finds made against the idea of an Irish Republic—(1) that military control of Ireland is necessary to Great Britain's security, and, (2) that the

Ulster minority require Great Britain's protection.

The first he sums up as "undiluted militarism," which the civilized world is now destroying. The second he answers out of the arguments of Ulstermen. As an Ulster Scot himself MacNeil is convinced that "in regard to the obsolete forms of statescraft the majority and the minority in Ireland are at one. And now that the majority has begun to speak out its mind, there is very little difference between its mind and the mind of the minority. . . . Sinn Fein ('Ourselves') is less disliked in Ulster than the compromise programme of so-called Constitutionalism."

"Ulster supplied the sturdiest element in the sedition, treason, and rebellion that brought about the independence of the U. S. A. Independence is in the blood of Ulstermen. Cambrensis bore witness to it seven centuries ago. Milton found the 'blockish Presbyterians' of Belfast unsubmitive to the Cromwell regime. The Protestant parts of Ulster were the strongholds of the United Irishmen.

"Independence, sometimes rather uncouthly expressed is the keynote of democratic Orangeism still—I'm from Newtonards, and I'll spit where I like."

"It was an appeal to the sentiment of independence that brought the Protestant youth of Ulster into the Ulster Volunteer Force, to resist, if need were, the authority of the Imperial Parliament. Sir E. Carson knew he was touching the right chord when he said Home Rule 'may pass the Imperial Parliament, but it won't pass Portadown.'"

The surest guarantee for Ireland's future peace with England when once independent he finds in a practical economic reason:

"Ireland, with ruined industries and a reduced population is still the largest buyer of British products in Europe. With restored prosperity and a full population Ireland must be the best market for British goods in the world. British restrictions on Irish prosperity so far as they have been dictated by a fear to forget the past have had their root in fallacious economic ideas that were exploded even in the 18th century. Prosperity in Ireland must involve an increase of prosperity in Great Britain.

"Great Britain has been and will be the principal market for exported Irish produce.

"These are facts from which nobody in Ireland or in Britain can get away" and it is clear to MacNeil that no sane person will argue that "a free Ireland will be perverse enough to create difficulties hostile to her most obvious material interests.

"No country will have a greater interest in the world's peace than Ireland. She will have no colonies and will meditate no conquests. She will have nothing to hope for and much to risk through entangling alliances or engagements with other states, or through allowing her own territory to be used in any way for their purposes in war, and she will be well circumstanced to prevent its use in that way....

"The maintenance of Irish independence and the inviolability of Irish territory would be of especial interest to Great Britain and the United States and these happen to be the countries which contain the largest Irish element outside of Ireland in their population. They are also the countries that are likely to have the most intimate commercial relations with Ireland."

Only from Great Britain would Ireland be again liable to a sudden invasion by force—and for the same reason that Ireland would want to remain friendly with Britain, MacNeil concludes that "having once arrived at friendly relations with Ireland on the most secure basis Great Britain would not desire to make Ireland again her enemy."

He sees only one alternative to this new Ireland, which he and Griffiths and de Valera with the majority of the Irish people now advocate—that is the "perpetual military domination of Ireland," a domination not alone of her "fighting strength or of her economic interests, "but of the spiritual forces (renewed in Sinn Fein) of "a tenacious people which is now clearer and stronger than ever in the determination to preserve its nationality.

"Ireland cannot be conquered. Partial conquests have been effected again and again, and the attempt may still be meditated. But the world is changing before our eyes, and the old saying is worth bearing in mind: 'Once too often the pitcher goes to the well.'"

* * *

This is the man eulogized by Austin Harrison on his return from Ireland to England. Harrison described their first contact—so...."....I meet Professor Mac-

Neill.....I find him a man of high character..... He looks a little tired, but there is no hatred in this man. As we talk, I learn to like him. We discuss ends and means. I am in front of a lofty mind, sincere, creative....."

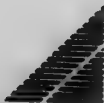
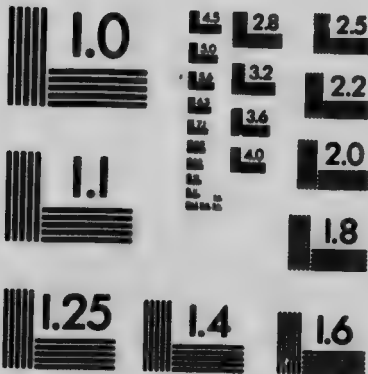
Arthur Griffiths and Eoin MacNeil—alike devoted self-sacrificing and fearless—are the outstanding leaders of Sinn Fein, while de Valera is the popular idol in the Irish Republican movement. The latter with Count Plunket, Joseph MacGuinness, Lawrence Ginnell and William Cosgrave are elected Members of Parliament, pledged to sit in none but an Irish Parliament. Every constituency contested by Sinn Fein upon its new platform has been won by them. As each new seat falls vacant they claim they will contest it, while Redmondite and Unionist politicians agree the Sinn Feinidhe will carry practically all the seats in Nationalist Ireland.

Parnell went to London, and his downfall was plotted there. The new leaders remain at home with the Irish People. Together they are moving on—proclaiming as they go Parnell's doctrine that no bounds may be set to the march of a Nation, pressing forward to liberty.



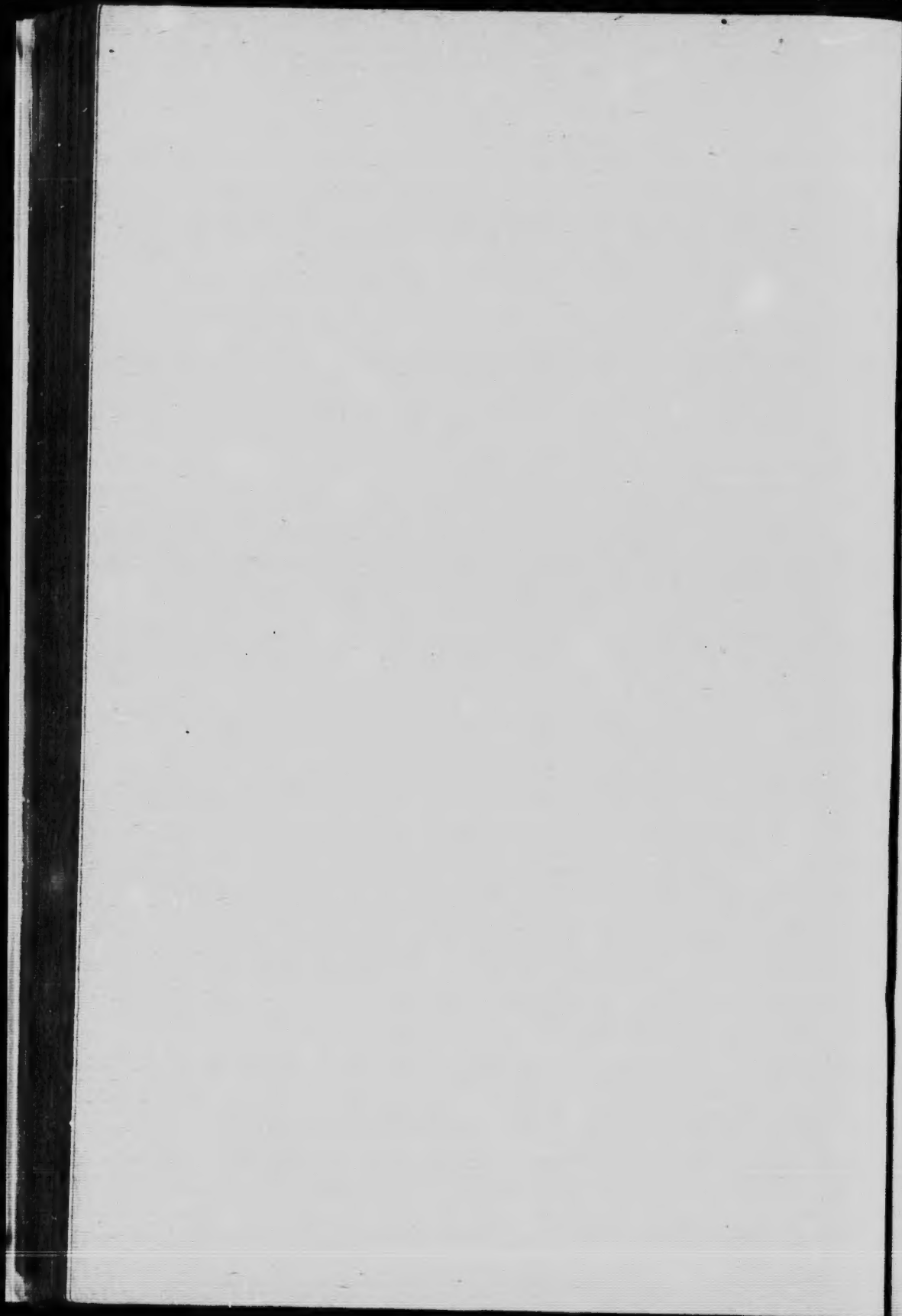
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APPENDIX

Since the preceding articles were written the Sinn Fein Convention of 1917 met in Dublin in session from October 24-27. There were 1700 delegates present from every county in Ireland. They reported 1,099 clubs of Sinn Fein with a membership of 250,000.

Eamon de Valera was unanimously elected President, a National Assembly of 120 members selected, and the following constitution adopted:

"Article I.—'Whereas,' the people of Ireland never relinquished their claim to separate nationhood; and, whereas, the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic at Easter, 1916, in the name of the Irish people, and continuing the fight made by previous generations, reasserted the inalienable right of the Irish nation to sovereign independence, and reaffirmed the determination of the Irish people to achieve it; and,

"'Whereas,' the proclamation of the Irish Republic at Easter, 1916, and the supreme courage and glorious sacrifices of the men who gave their lives to maintain it have united the people of Ireland under the flag of the Irish Republic; be it

"'Resolved,' that we, the delegated representatives of Irish people, in convention assembled, hereby declare the following to be the constitution of Sinn Fein:

"1. The name of the organization shall be Sinn Fein.

"2. Sinn Fein aims at securing international recognition of Ireland as an independent Irish Republic. Having achieved that status the Irish people may by referendum freely choose their own form of government.

"3. This object shall be attained through the Sinn Fein organization, which shall in the name of the Sovereign Irish people (a) deny the right and oppose the will of the British Parliament, and the British Crown or any other foreign government to legislate for Ireland; (b) make use of any and every means

available to render impotent the power of England to hold Ireland in subjection by military force or otherwise.

"Whereas, no law, without the authority and consent of the Irish people is or ever can be binding on their conscience, therefore in accordance with the resolution of Sinn Fein, adopted in the convention of 1915, a constituent assembly shall be convoked, comprising persons chosen by Irish constituencies as supreme national authority to speak and act in the name of the Irish people, and to devise and formulate measures for the welfare of the whole people of Ireland, such as

"(A) The introduction of a prospective system for Irish industries and commerce by combined action of the Irish councils; urban councils, rural councils, port law boards, harbor boards, and other bodies directly responsible to the Irish people;

(B) The establishment and maintenance under the direction of the National Assembly or other authority approved by the people of Ireland, of an Irish consular service for the advancement of Irish commerce and Irish interests generally;

(C) The re-establishment of an Irish mercantile marine to facilitate direct trading between Ireland and the countries of Continental Europe, America, Africa and the Far East;

(D) An industrial survey of Ireland and development of its mineral resources under the auspices of the National Assembly or other national authority approved by the people of Ireland;

(E) The establishment of a national stock exchange;

(F) The creation of a national civil service embracing all employees of county councils, rural councils, port law board, harbor boards and other bodies responsible to the Irish people by the institution of a common, national qualifying examination and local competitive examinations, the latter at the discretion of the local bodies;

(G) The establishment of Sinn Fein courts of arbitration for the speedy and satisfactory adjustment of disputes;

(H) The development of transit by railroad and water, and of waste lands for the national benefit by a national authority approved by the people of Ireland.

(I) The development of the Irish sea fisheries by

the National Assembly or other national authority approved by the people of Ireland;

(J) The reform of education to render its basis national and industrial by the compulsory teaching of the Irish language, Irish history and Irish agriculture and manufacturing potentialities in a primary system and, in addition to elevate to a position of dominance in the university system Irish agriculture and economics;

(K) The abolition of the poor law system and the substitution in its stead of adequate outdoor relief to the aged and infirm and employment of the able bodies in the reclamation of waste lands, afforestation, and other national and reproductive works.

"Article 2—A special meeting of the executive may be summoned on three days' notice by the President on a requisition presented to him, signed by six members of the executive specifying the object for which the meeting is called. In a case of urgent emergency the President shall call all the members of the executive to an urgency meeting and may take action in the name of the executive. In case he secured the approval of an absolute majority of the entire executive the action taken is to be reported for confirmation at the next ordinary meeting of the executive.

"Article 3—Where Irish resources are being developed or where industries exist Sinn Feiners should make it their business to secure that workers are paid living wages.

"Article 4—That equality of men and women in this organization shall be emphasized in all speeches and leaflets."